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Christianity in China

CHRISTIANITY IN CHINA:

A Fragment.

BY

T. W. M. MARSHALL, Esq.

AUTHOR OF
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The writer desires to explain, that the following pages form only the first chapter of a work in which it is proposed to compare, by a similar method, the results of Catholic and Protestant Missions, not in China alone, but in all parts of the world. As a few months may elapse before the whole mass of evidence collected with this object, and scattered through many volumes, can be finally classified and arranged,—and as special interest attaches at this moment to China, and to the progress of religion in that empire,—it has been suggested by competent authority that this chapter should be printed at once, in a separate form. This is the only explanation which the writer has to offer of so unusual a proceeding.

CHRISTIANITY IN CHINA.

On many accounts China claims our first attention. Here more than one third of the whole human family have their dwelling. Here a mixed population, of Tartar and Mongolian races, more than eight times greater than that of France and England combined, retain the usages which their fathers followed before a Roman foot had touched the soil of Britain, and while all the proud thrones of Europe were still in the womb of time. Here four hundred millions[1] of the children of Adam reject, as their ancestors did during thirty centuries, the gifts and promises of God; and cease not to say, with arrogant disdain, to the rest of the human race,—Stand off; we have no need of you.[2] Here is revealed to us that

[1] *China, Political, Commercial, and Social;* by R. Montgomery Martin, Esq., *Preface.* This is his estimate for China Proper and its dependencies.

[2] "China never figured in the history of Western Asia or Europe, and had no connection whatever with their inhabitants;

almost fabulous realm, planted on the confines of the world, in the remotest regions of the East, which perplexed the thoughts and baffled the curiosity of the ancients; the mystic Cathay, which Columbus fondly thought he had reached, when his foot first rested on the American shore.[1]

It has been reserved to us, and to our day, to see the gates of this fantastic empire thrown open, by unwilling hands, and every prohibition removed, after so many ages of obstinate isolation, which forbade access to the detested "foreigner." Already many begin to speculate on the probable issues of so portentous an event, and seek to forecast the designs of Providence in this the greatest fact of modern history. But our business is with the past rather than the future. What China may become hereafter, we know not; what she has been, we have

but this great country has ever stood apart, like a world within itself, in the remote unknown Eastern Asia." *The Philosophy of History*, F. von Schlegel, Lecture iii.

[1] So little was known of China, that even Rome, in the plenitude of her imperial power, "did not so much as suspect that there existed in the remote regions of the mysterious East a colossal empire, teeming with vast and wealthy cities, and thronged with innumerable inhabitants, skilled in the arts, in manufactures, in agriculture, and in commerce." Huc, *Le Christianisme en Chine*, tome ii. p. 2.

learned from men who did not wait for a haughty and reluctant sanction to tread her forbidden soil. Others, indeed, moved by the lust of gain, with infinite precautions, and often at the price of shameful humiliations, had ventured to dwell in one or more of her sea-port towns; but the Missionaries of the Cross alone,[1] in defiance of every menace, of torture, and of death, had braved the capricious fury of her rulers, penetrated her most distant provinces, ascended her mightiest rivers, and traversed in their apostolic course the whole extent of her vast empire, from the Sea of China, across the great wall, to the plains of Tartary and Thibet, and from the Gulf of Siam on the south to the borders of the Sea of Okhost in the north. What they did and suffered, how they toiled and how they prospered, we are now to relate.[2]

[1] "Where neither merchant nor traveller has penetrated, the Roman Catholic missionaries have found their way." *China Opened*, by Rev. Charles Gutzlaff, vol. i. ch. vi. p. 180.

[2] Even the patriarch of human science is obliged to confess that Catholic missionaries have surpassed all other men in courage. "Je rappelle ces traits historiques épars, parce qu'ils ont rapport à la partie la plus centrale de la Haute Asie, à celle que depuis la courageuse expédition du jésuite portugais Benedict Goës, de Kachgar à Sotcheou, en 1606, et le voyage astronomique du jésuite allemand Hallerstein, avec ses aides les pères

It is not, however, necessary to the immediate purpose of this book that we should trace with minute detail the early history of Christianity in China.[1] Whether St. Thomas the Apostle, as some have deemed, passed from India into China, is a question which, however full of interest on other accounts, need not detain us; nor do the early Nestorian missions, once so active and energetic, but of which every trace has long since been obliterated, merit our attention.[2] It was the irreparable misfortune of a large part of Asia to be visited in the early ages by false apostles, deeply tainted with heresy; and to this fact is perhaps to be attributed a large share of the multiplied disasters which, during many ages, marked the course of religion in these remote countries. But these are subjects altogether foreign to the special inquiry which we are about to pursue,

Espinha et Arocha, aucun Européen n'a pu visiter." *Asie Centrale*, par A. de Humboldt, tome i. p. 27.

[1] The Abbé Huc, in his last work, entitled *Le Christianisme en Chine*, has recorded every fact which history has preserved from the apostolate of St. Thomas to the death of Cang-hi. See also Du Halde, *Description de l'Empire de la Chine;* and, for Protestant testimony, Gutzlaff, *History of China.*

[2] *China; its State and Prospects;* by W. H. Medhurst, p. 224. See also Henrion, *Histoire des Missions Catholiques*, tome i. 2d partie, ch. xxxvi. p. 377.

and from which it would be inexpedient to turn aside. That China was evangelised before the *seventh* century is abundantly proved by the celebrated monumental stone, discovered in 1625 near the city of Si-ngan-fou, inscribed with Syriac, Chaldaic, and Chinese characters, and the authenticity of which no one of repute now denies.[1] In the first year of the *eleventh* century, a Tartar prince is said to have been baptised, with 200,000 of his subjects.[2] In the *thirteenth* there was already an Archbishop at Peking, who had under his jurisdiction four suffragan bishops;[3] and in the following century

[1] "Ce document se range incontestablement parmi les pièces les plus précieuses des antiquités ecclésiastiques." Blumhardt, *Histoire Générale de l'Etablissement du Christianisme*, tome iii. ch. xxxi. p. 38, ed. Bost. 1838. "The weight of evidence, both internal and external, regarding its verity, leaves no doubt." *The Middle Empire*, by S. Wells Williams, vol. ii. ch. xix. p. 291. See also Mr. Wright's note in his edition of *Marco Polo's Travels*, ch. lxv. p. 309; and Gieseler, *Ecclesiast. Hist.* vol. i. p. 353, ed. Cunningham.

[2] *Journal Asiatique*, tome i. p. 125.

[3] The learned Sinologue, Abel-Remusat, says: "J'ai compté neuf tentatives principales, faites par les princes chrétiens, pour se lier avec les Mongols; et jusqu'à quinze ambassades envoyées par les Tartares en Europe, et principalement aux papes et aux rois de France." *Journal Asiatique*, tome i. p. 135. Cf. Huc, *L'Empire Chinois*, tome i. ch. ii. p. 70.

Pope Clement V. appointed the Franciscan John de Monte-Corvino as metropolitan, and by him these countries were evangelised during forty-two years.[1] From this date we may advance at once to that marvellous epoch with which we are more specially concerned, and every incident of which has happily been narrated by the illustrious band whose sufferings and triumphs we are about to record.

In 1552, St. Francis Xavier left Goa for China, his great heart filled with a burning desire to proclaim to that land the Name which he had announced to so many thousands in other regions. But his course, as he had foretold, was run, and the Master whom he had loved and served so well summoned the apostle to rest from his labours. He died on the shores of the island of Sancian, abandoned by the treacherous Chinese whom he had hired to convey him to Canton.

Almost the very hour in which St. Francis died,

[1] "A man in whom we recognise the pattern of a true missionary, the Franciscan, John de Monte-Corvino, who spared no pains in giving the people the word of God in their own language. He translated the New Testament and the Psalms into the Tartar language, had these translations copied in the most beautiful style, and made use of them in preaching." *History of the Christian Religion and Church*, by Dr. Augustus Neander, vol. vii. p. 76, Torrey's edition.

as if to mark more clearly the designs of Providence, saw the birth of one who was destined to take his place, the Josue who was to enter the land from which Moses had been shut out. To prepare him for his future work, the richest endowments of grace and nature were freely lavished upon him. No gift which might qualify him for his great career seems to have been denied to this eminent man. In him were united prudence, constancy, and magnanimity of soul; profound genius, cultivated by the most famous masters of the age; delicacy and refinement of taste, unwearied industry, exquisite patience, habitual mortification, and a love of God so ardent as to make all labour for His sake a refreshment rather than a toil. In 1583 Father Ricci landed in China; and in this year began that famous conflict between the powers of light and darkness, in which this intrepid apostle battled for twenty-seven years, and then sunk exhausted by his own success.[1] But years elapsed before any prospect of that great success rewarded his immense labours. For a long period nothing could be more precarious than his position. Dependent wholly upon the caprice of the viceroy of Canton, persecuted and outraged, yet not cast down, his fortitude was equal to every trial.

[1] See his *Life*, by the Père d'Orleans.

Once he was obliged to yield to the fury of the heathen, and retired to Macao; but if he bowed his head, it was only to raise it again when the storm had passed; and if he retired for a moment, it was but to return with renewed strength and vigour. On his first landing he had assumed the habit of a *Bonze*, supposing, by a natural error, that men who exercised priestly functions, and professed an ascetic life, would be respected by their own followers. But when he had ascertained that these sordid impostors were objects of contempt even to the Chinese, a happier inspiration led him to adopt the garb of the *Literates*, which the members of his order ever after retained during their career in China. No trial was wanting to him, and not the least was the loss of his two companions, Fathers d'Almeyda and Petri; but he had counted the cost before he began his work, and his heart, firmly united to God, could not be dismayed. His first convert was a poor outcast whom he found dying by the road-side; but the day was coming when nobles and princes were to seek at his hands the bread of life, and the haughty chief of that wide empire was to acknowledge him as his friend and guide. At length, perfectly conversant with the language,—which he spoke and wrote with such

consummate perfection that one of his Chinese works was ordered to be included in the imperial collection of the classical compositions in the dialect of the *Literates*,[1]—he set out, alone and unprotected, on his celebrated journey to Peking. On his road he composed two of his incomparable Chinese treatises, which excited universal admiration, and from one of which some extracts shall be cited hereafter: but his heart was set upon a higher reward than barren and unprofitable applause, and could only be satisfied by winning souls to Christ. This was his true calling, and to this all other ends were subordinate. On the approach to Nanking, he was nearly drowned in crossing the Yang-tse-kiang; but though one of his companions perished, his own hour was not yet come. He was now making converts rapidly, and on every side; the more learned Chinese being especially attracted by his irresistible eloquence; but he had set his face towards Peking, and would not be stayed.[2] When his luggage was examined

[1] Bridgman, in his catalogue of the Chinese Classics, refers to "the work of Ricci in the imperial library." *Chinese Chrestomathy*, introd. p. xxxi.

[2] "L'apôtre, persuadé que le moindre succès qu'il pourrait obtenir à la cour profiterait plus au christianisme que des efforts tentés dans les provinces, méditait de se rendre à Peking." Henrion, tome ii. 1ere partie, p. 167.

at the custom-house, a crucifix was found, which the officer on duty considered "a charm to take away the life of the emperor." This barrier passed, he still pursued his way, gathering converts wherever he stopped. Turned back from one city, he fled to another. Months and years glided away, each presenting its tribute of ransomed souls; until at length, overcoming every obstacle by prudence, sagacity, and patience, and protected by the Divine arm, he accomplished a journey unparalleled in the annals of modern enterprise, and stood within the walls of the capital. And now, after twenty years of toil and suffering, he began to reap in joy what he had sown with tears.[1]

It was truly a wonderful sight, this stranger from a far distant land, without money and without friends, except such as were not clothed in mortal shape, established not only in Pekin, but within the very walls of the imperial palace. His human science he willingly applied to the service of the emperor, stipulat-

[1] "Few men ever lived," says one of the most unscrupulous of Protestant writers, "who did so much within a short space of time as this Jesuit. . . . . It will scarcely be credited that at his death there existed in Keang-nan province alone thirty churches." Gutzlaff, *China Opened*, vol. ii. ch. xv. p. 229. In the next reign he admits "there were few large cities where some Christians might not be found," p. 230.

ing only that it should be given without reward; but he had another and a higher work to do, and to this all the energies of his soul were now devoted. Amongst other eminent converts, attracted by his holy life and luminous teaching, was the mandarin Paul Seu, who held one of the highest offices in the state, and of whose granddaughter Candida it is recorded, that "during thirty-four years of widowhood she imitated perfectly those holy widows whose character St. Paul has described to us, founded thirty churches in her own part of the country, and caused nine others to be built in different provinces of the empire."[1] The emperor himself was so struck with her Christian graces, that he sent her a magnificent present, and conferred upon her by a special decree the title of "*the virtuous woman.*" In 1605 three princes of the imperial family were baptised at Peking, on the feast of the Epiphany, and received the names of Melchior, Gaspard, and Balthasar. Yet during the very hour in which religion was thus winning its triumphs in the capital, persecution was incessantly raging in the

[1] Du Halde, tome iii. pp. 79-154. "Part of the descendants of Seu *are now* Romanists." *Life in China*, by Rev. W. C. Milne, ch. iv. p. 474 (1858). This Protestant missionary says, that in the province of Keang-nan, evangelised by Ricci, the Catholics "number about seventy thousand souls," p. 485.

provinces; and the tyranny of Asiatic caprice supplied a rigorous test of the sincerity of the converts, who, as in the primitive ages, increased daily in number and fervour. All the neophytes were obliged by Father Ricci to make "a public declaration of their faith, *composed by themselves*," as a condition of their admission into the Church ;[1] a rule which effectually secured an adequate knowledge of the principles and dogmas of the Christian faith, as the almost inevitable sufferings of the converts attested the purity of their motive in embracing it. And now the first apostle of China had done his work. A few days before the illness which closed his life, he addressed his sorrowing companions in these words : "My fathers, when I reflect by what means I may most efficaciously propagate the Christian faith among the Chinese, I find none better nor more persuasive than my death." And, in truth, as a modern writer observes with great reason, "By his public interment, with the emperor's official sanction, he legalised Christianity in China."[2]

Ricci was now dead ; but from that hour, during two hundred and fifty years of almost unceasing persecution, there were never wanting apostles to con-

[1] See the protestation of Paul Ly, one of his early converts, in Henrion, tome ii. 1ere partie, p. 169.

[2] Huc, tome ii. p. 249.

tinue the work which he had begun, nor martyrs to consecrate it with their blood. His death occurred in 1610; and only five years later so fierce a storm broke out, that even the Fathers at Peking were obliged to fly to Macao, and for a moment the progress of the faith seemed to be effectually stopped. Yet in 1628 the illustrious Adam Schaal was once more installed in the capital, as president of the mathematical tribunal, the emperor finding his own subjects utterly incompetent to fill the place of Ricci and his companions.[1] In 1631 the Dominicans and

[1] Although the pretended antiquity of Chinese science, so much vaunted by Voltaire and the infidel philosophers of the 18th century, has lost all its importance as a subject of controversy, the conclusive testimony of learned Protestants is not without interest. "It has been proved," says Mr. Montgomery Martin, "that their early astronomical observations were absolute forgeries, as the Jesuits found no one able to calculate an eclipse." *China, &c.*, vol. i. p. 78. "Their acquaintance with the exact sciences," observes Mr. Hugh Murray, "cannot for a moment bear comparison with that of Europeans." *Historical and Descriptive Account of China*, ch. iii. p. 225. Even Gutzlaff admits that "whatever their works contain upon the subject of astronomical science is so imperfect, that it would never have engaged the attention of European scholars if the Jesuits had not by their own science elucidated the subject." *China Opened*, vol. i. ch. v. p. 107. And again, "Whatever is valuable in Chinese astronomical science has been borrowed from the treatises of Roman Catholic missionaries," vol. ii. ch. xiv. p. 169. I find,

Franciscans arrived, and now the apostolic husbandmen began to spread themselves on every side over the land, from Canton to the great wall of China, and even into Tartary and Mongolia.[1] At this time also, the mother of the emperor, his principal wife, and finally his eldest son, were baptised by Father Koffler, and shortly after despatched to Rome, to Pope Alexander VII., the celebrated letter which has been so often quoted, and upon which such great hopes were founded. A few years later the calendar was reformed by the learned Schaal, of whom the emperor was wont to say, "The mandarins ask me daily for new favours; but *Ma fa*, who knows that I

from a careful examination of the map of China, that the astronomical observations of the Jesuits fix the position of innumerable places throughout the whole empire, and range through 33° of latitude and 23° of longitude. The accuracy of their observations is attested by Sir J. Davis, *Sketches of China*, vol. i. ch. ix. p. 264. Finally, a competent authority thus chastises the most triumphant infidel argument of the last century: "The received chronology of the Chinese is not only not incompatible with that of the Bible, but coincident with it to the extent to which a correspondence might reasonably be expected at such remote periods." *History of China*, by Thomas Thornton, Esq., *Preface*, p. xiii.

[1] "The harvest became so plentiful that the workmen were too few to gather it in." *The Present State of China*, by Père le Comte, *Letter* xi. p. 361, English edition (1737).

love him, always refuses even those which I press him to accept;" and when he acted the part of St. John the Baptist, and rebuked the monarch's vices, the latter calmly replied, "I pardon your invectives, because I know that you love me."[1]

On the death of this emperor, Chun-tche, another formidable persecution arose, during the minority of his successor, Cang-hi; and the venerable Adam Schaal, at the age of seventy-four, was loaded with chains and cast into prison, together with a large number of converted mandarins. Schaal was condemned to be strangled, and afterward chopped in pieces; but it is said that whenever the judges assembled to read the sentence, they were forced by earthquakes to fly from the tribunal; and the affrighted people, understanding the warning of God,

[1] Du Halde. It is a custom in China that when the emperor has occupied any chair or seat in the house of one of his subjects, it is immediately covered with yellow stuff, the imperial colour, and none may henceforth sit upon it. One day when the emperor Chun-tche, the first of the Mantcheou dynasty, paid a visit to Adam Schaal, as he sat down sometimes on the bed, sometimes elsewhere, wherever he found a seat, the Father said to him, laughing, "But where does your majesty intend me to sit hereafter?" "Wherever you like," replied the monarch; "you and I are not on those terms." Henrion, tome ii. 2de partie, p. 376.

obtained a reversal of the judgment.[1] But Schaal, exhausted by infirmity and the sufferings which he had no longer strength to endure, sank under the outrages which he had received, and died in 1666. Meanwhile the greatest cruelties were every where inflicted throughout all the provinces, and twenty-five Fathers, of whom twenty-one were Jesuits, were banished to Canton.[2] The successor of Adam Schaal was Father Ferdinand Verbiest, who, in his turn, acquired supreme influence over the mind of the emperor, and obtained once more the recall of the missionaries, who were restored in 1671. *In that single year more than twenty thousand Chinese were converted*:[3] and in the following, an uncle of the emperor, besides many other distinguished persons, were added to the number of the faithful. Father Verbiest continued to enjoy the esteem and admiration of the

[1] Father le Comte says, "The whole land was confounded at this prodigy." *Letter* xi. p. 369.

[2] "For all the missioners at court were in such favour with the emperor, yet their religion being but barely tolerated, they were always in danger of persecution." Astley's *Voyages and Travels*, vol. iv. p. 233.

[3] Medhurst, ch ix. p. 232. From 1650 to 1664 one hundred thousand Chinese were baptised. The Dominican Lopez, a Chinese, afterwards Bishop of Basilea, is said to have baptised twice that number with his own hand. Henrion, tome ii. p. 381.

emperor, the celebrated Cang-hi, one of the greatest men who ever occupied the throne of China; and it is interesting to learn that the monarch was not only captivated by his science and learning, but deeply moved by the information which he received from spies, whom he had himself employed to watch him in his private hours, and who described to their royal master the holy and mortified lives which Verbiest and his companions led.[1] Innocent XI. wrote a gracious letter to Father Verbiest, in 1681, to encourage him in his arduous life;[2] and in 1685, fresh labourers arriving at Ningpo, whose entrance was violently opposed by the mandarins, the emperor wrote with his own hand to this effect: "It is not people of their character who should be driven from my empire. Let them all come to my court; such as know mathematics shall stay near my person, the rest may go into the provinces wherever they please."

[1] A Protestant writer, angry at the success of these apostles, "without whose advice," he says, "Cang-hi engaged in nothing of consequence," tries to defame them, and declares that "Father Verbiest was made master of the ordnance!" *Memoirs on Sending the Scriptures to China*, by William Moseley.

[2] "'Reckon me, O Lord,' did he often cry out, 'among those who have desired but never were permitted to shed their blood for Thee. Under the veil of Thine infinite mercy, I dare offer my life as a sacrifice to Thee.'" Le Comte, *Letter* ii. p. 47.

They eagerly profited by the permission; but in 1688 Father Verbiest died, after a life of which it has been said, that almost every moment had been consecrated to the service of God.[1] His eulogy was pronounced by Cang-hi himself, who published a solemn edict, "as a public testimony of his affection towards him."[2]

[1] A Protestant missionary says of him; "His character for humility and modesty was only equalled by his well-known application and industry. He seemed insensible to every thing but the promotion of science and religion; he abstained from idle visits, the reading of curious books, and even the perusal of European newspapers; while he incessantly employed himself either in mathematical calculations, in instructing proselytes, in corresponding with the grandees of the empire in the interests of the mission, or in writing to the learned of Europe, inviting them to repair to China. His private papers are indicative of the depth of his devotion, the rigour of his austerities, his watchfulness over his heart amid the crowd of business, and the ardour with which he served religion." *China, its State and Prospects,* by W. H. Medhurst, ch. ix. p. 234.

[2] In his edict he makes the characteristic remark, that "not one of his calculations as to the movements of the heavenly bodies had ever been wrong." It was the science of the missionaries, as a celebrated traveller remarks, which secured their welcome. "The fondness for literature which has actuated some of the emperors is the only reason of their being tolerated." Krusenstern, *Voyage round the World,* vol. ii. p. 319. "Il est démontré," says a later writer, "que la tolérance que les missionaires éprouvèrent de la part du gouvernement de Péking n'était due qu'à l'intercession de ceux qui étaient en faveur à la cour." *La Chine,* par M. G. Pauthier, p. 442.

In March of the same year, Fathers Gerbillon and Bouvet were received at court, and occupied in the regard of the imperial philosopher the same place which had been held successively by Schaal and Verbiest. He obliged them to learn the Tartar dialect, which he preferred to speak, and constantly examined them himself to ascertain the progress which they were making in this new language. Three bishops were appointed at this time by Alexander VIII. for Peking, Nanking, and Macao; meanwhile the great work went on, mathematics being only valued as a device to catch souls; and what sort of converts were made by these learned and saintly missionaries we shall see more fully hereafter, but may judge already by the example of Tchang-ta-teou, a Chinese physician, who was beaten almost to death for refusing to abandon the faith; and when a youth, whose godfather he was, requested to be allowed to take his place, he said calmly, "Why, my son, would you deprive me of the crown which God has prepared for me?"[1]

[1] Du Halde, tome iii. p. 128. Father François Noel mentions that many of the Christians came eight or ten leagues every Sunday to hear Mass, and that they assembled in great numbers every Friday to practise devotions in honour of the Passion of our Lord. "Their austerities and penances would be indiscreet if we were not careful to moderate their excess." *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, tome xvii. p. 187.

Many of the heathen bystanders, touched by his heroic example, begged, like the soldiers who watched St. Alban's martyrdom, to be admitted to baptism. In 1702, a noble church, built within the precincts of the palace, was solemnly opened, the first Mass being celebrated by Father Gerbillon.[1] In 1722, Cang-hi, whom state policy and earthly passions alone kept from obedience to the faith, died at the age of sixty-nine, and the missionaries lost an attached and all-powerful friend. His son and successor, Yong Tching, immediately issued a decree of extermination against Christianity, and in that year of evil omen "all the missionaries without distinction were driven from their churches; more than *three hundred* churches were either destroyed or converted to profane uses; and more than *three hundred thousand* Christians were abandoned to the fury of the heathen."[2]

Such was the closing scene of a century of apos-

[1] When the mandarins remonstrated with Cang-hi about the dimensions of this church, he answered, "What would you have me do? These foreigners render me every day important services, for which I know not how to recompense them; they refuse all offices and employments, money they will not touch; religion is the only thing they care for, and it is here alone that I can give them any gratification. Speak to me no more about it." *Lettres édifiantes*, tome xvii. p. 87.

[2] The history of the period included in this brief sketch occu-

tolic zeal and suffering. A day had arrived which was to be "for the fall, and for the resurrection of many in Israel." But the Cross had been firmly planted in the soil of China, and it was not the will of God that it should again be rooted up. Perhaps, too, it was fitting that a nation which had so long rejected the offer of salvation, should purchase it, as the Christians of the first three centuries had done, by the loss of all earthly goods, and often at the cost of life itself. And we shall now see, that however sublime may be the annals of the early martyrs, they do not surpass, in the glory of heroic faith and love, the more lowly records of the Church in China, nor overshadow the testimony of her unnumbered confessors, from the beginning of the eighteenth century to the present hour.

Among the earliest victims of the terrible persecution which now raged from one end of China to the other, were several of the emperor's nearest relatives. From the conduct of these princes, under the sharp trial which now came upon them, we may learn what manner of men were the Christians formed by the teaching and example of Verbiest and his companions. The moment had arrived which was to test their

pies parts of two 4to volumes in Du Halde's account, and fourteen hundred 8vo pages in that of the Abbé Huc.

work. These members of the royal house had been nurtured in all the pride and pomp of the Chinese court; one of them had even been named as a probable successor to the throne; the greatest officers of the state had been wont to approach them only on their knees. They were now summoned, not to disavow their convictions, about which their imperial kinsman was profoundly indifferent, but only to pay external homage to the state religion.[1] With one consent they refused to touch the unclean thing; and the whole family, including several brothers of the emperor, were degraded and exiled. Let us follow them to the scene of their long and bitter sufferings, in which, during a series of years, they displayed such saintly resignation, that by the contemplation of their heroic virtues, amidst poverty, famine, and disease, several heathen members of the imperial family, in spite of the frightful lot their conversion entailed, were brought to the knowledge and love of Christ.

Prince John, the third in age, wrote thus from his place of exile to his friend and director, Father Parennin: "What we now desire, and what you must

[1] "Tous les peuples d'Orient, excepté les Mahométans, croient toutes les religions en elles-mêmes indifférentes. Ce n'est que comme changement dans le gouvernement qu'ils craignent l'établissement d'une autre religion." Montesquieu, *De l'Esprit des Lois*, livre xxv. ch. xv.

beg of God for us is, that by the help of His grace we may correct our faults, practise virtue, conform ourselves to His holy will, and persevere to the end in His holy service. This is the only object of our desires; the rest we count for nothing." And that these were not mere empty words, uttered in the rash confidence which too proudly boasts, "Though all men should deny Thee, yet will not I," is sufficiently proved by their subsequent career. "You know not," said another of the princes, whose servant wept on seeing him loaded with heavy chains, "the preciousness of sufferings; and yet you are a Christian! Learn that they are the pledge of a blessed eternity. Do not, then, be discouraged, but, whatever it may cost you, continue stedfast in the faith, and never abandon the service of God." Another servant, offering to cover with linen the places bruised by the chains, which are said to have weighed seventy pounds, the prince repulsed him, saying, "Did you ever hear that in the night of His Passion our Lord endeavoured to loose the cords with which He was bound, or that He placed bandages under them to relieve the smart? This was the God-Man; and yet He suffered for us sinners, while we do not suffer for others, but for ourselves."[1] The princesses dis-

[1] *Lettres édifiantes*, tome xx. p. 54.

played equal courage and generosity in the midst of want and sufferings of every kind, aggravated by the memory of a former life of ease and luxury.[1] "When one reflects," says their guide and counsellor, Father Parennin, "what this illustrious family has suffered during four years past, it is difficult to conceive a more formidable trial, or one which could be endured with more Christian generosity. Princesses of the royal blood, who had always lived in splendour and abundance, fallen to the lowest depths of indigence; without the support of their husbands, with no relatives to succour them, nor friends to console; having only before their eyes the spectacle of their sons in chains, destined to death, and their young daughters, more hapless still, and whose lot is worse than death; unable to receive the sacraments, the only consolation which they could taste in the sad condition to which they are reduced; to endure all these woes, and yet to bear such a deluge of suffering not only without diminution of faith, though so recently converted to Christianity, but without uttering so much as one

[1] "These illustrious persons were sent as exiles into a desolate part of Tartary; the princesses were exposed to the hazard of perishing with cold and hunger. Yet in 1736 we find the members of the imperial family still adhering to the Christian religion." Hugh Murray's *China*, vol. i. ch. viii. p. 275.

accent of complaint; must it not be confessed, that even the constancy of the Christian heroes of the first ages of the Church offers nothing more admirable, nothing more heroic?"[1] Well might Father Parennin exclaim, in the bitterness of his heart, alluding to the honours paid by the emperors to himself and his colleagues at Peking: "Oh! for fewer favours to the missionaries, and more justice to the religion which they preach!" He was a competent judge of Christian heroism, and himself a master of the spiritual life, yet he declares that nothing could surpass "the sublime virtues" displayed by these admirable confessors. Promises and threats were tried by turns to seduce their constancy. "You are Mantcheou," said their former friends; "you belong to the royal blood, and yet you renounce the customs of your fathers to follow a strange law!" But remonstrance and sarcasm, blandishments and menaces, were equally vain. The members of the Portuguese and Russian embassies, who visited China at this period, were filled with astonishment and

[1] *Lettres édifiantes*, tome xx. p. 234. Father Parennin spent more than forty years in China, was the intimate friend of Cang-hi, whom he accompanied during eighteen years in all his journeys into Tartary; and even his brutal successor paid the expenses of a public funeral for the illustrious missionary.

edification by the contemplation of their virtues, and returned to Europe, declaring that they had found the Primitive Church in the remotest wilds of Asia. But the emperor was as stedfast in his purpose to conquer, as they in their resolution to endure. Furious at the calm patience which baffled all his efforts, he now ordered them to be removed from their place of exile, and shut up, one by one, in small prisons, six feet by ten. Into these dens their daily allowance of food, barely sufficient to maintain life, was introduced through a small aperture, by which alone they had a semblance of intercourse with the outer world. Nothing but reverence for the memory of Cang-hi saved them from still more atrocious treatment ; but already they were beginning to sink under their protracted miseries, and in a few days one of the princes, when visited by the guard, was found lifeless on the floor of his prison. One by one they died, *Jesus* being the last word on their lips.[1] A little while, and all would have been added to the army of mar-

[1] It is a lesson full of significance for persecutors, and a notable illustration of the character and success of the Catholic missionaries, that during the very crisis of this merciless persecution, eleven hundred and fifty-seven persons were baptised in the single province of Peking, and multitudes in other parts of the empire. In 1740, Father Gaubil could report that there were more than fifty thousand Christians in the province of Peking.

tyrs ; but at this moment the hand of God was stretched forth, and in 1735 Yong-tching was called to his account, and his son Kien-long reigned in his stead. The first act of the new emperor was to release the surviving princes, who had now been, as it were, buried alive for more than twelve years. The people, capricious even in their crimes, and not always incapable of noble instincts, welcomed them with acclamations, and knelt with respect, as the noble band, of whom one was the tenth son of their great king Cang-hi, passed on their way to the palace from which they had been so long banished. But the hopes which their release awakened were of short duration. Kien-long, though naturally humane, was unwilling to bring shame on his father, and once more the decree went forth to persecute the Christians.

" All, except a very small number," says one who stood by them in this hour of darkness, " who were intimidated by the apparatus of torture, displayed heroic constancy amid the most cruel torments. In vain they beat their faces with rods till they were covered with blood, or stretched them on the ground and lacerated them with whips and sticks ; they answered constantly, " We will live and die Christians."[1] Their very judges were filled with involun-

[1] *Lettres édifiantes,* tome xx. p. 333.

tary admiration, and suggested to them, with ignorant kindness, to apostatise with their lips only, while they preserved their religion in their hearts. Many of their speeches before the tribunals equal any thing in the annals of Christianity. One of them being held by the head and feet before his torture, said with a smile, "You need not fear that I shall move; a Christian is too happy to suffer for his faith." Then his trial commenced; but "the mandarin was weary of tormenting the neophyte, before the latter was of enduring the anguish." And when it was over, there came to him his mother, who seeing him all mutilated and covered with blood, fondly embraced him, and exclaimed with joy, "Come, let us hasten to thank God for the favours which He has shown you." Another, who was a mass of wounds, and incapable of movement, answered with a noble pleasantry an aged heathen relative, who threatened to die at his feet if he would not apostatise, "I should be very sorry for your death; but at all events, in my present state, they can hardly suspect me of having caused it."[1] And these are only specimens of hundreds of similar cases, during nearly two centuries.

But we are still only at the beginning of that long history, of which every chapter is written in

[1] *Lettres édifiantes*, tome xx. p. 351.

blood, and which illustrates, perhaps more vividly than any other, the power and majesty of true religion; a history in which even the humblest actors, not princes only, but beggars, boatmen, women, and even children,[1] display the calm dignity of heroes, and perform deeds as lofty and sublime as ever were inspired by Christian faith. Hardly had one storm of persecution subsided before another burst forth. In 1737, fresh orders were given to summon the Christians before the tribunals throughout the whole breadth of the empire. It would be difficult to give even the most meagre summary of the events which now ensued, the details of which have furnished matter for many volumes; yet it is equally impossible to leave them altogether unnoticed. In this new persecution, the second of the reign of Kien-long, some Christians fell into a crafty snare prepared by the mandarins, by consenting to declare that they would not "again enter into the Christian religion;" a promise which they excused to their own conscience by the secret interpretation, that they would not be *baptised* again. Such artifices appear to have been continually invented by their subtle enemies, when they found

[1] See Rorhbacher, *Histoire de l'Eglise Catholique*, tome xxviii. livre xci. p. 470.

that they were not to be overcome by open violence; but all who were thus compromised, being treated by their brethren as apostates, confessed their fault, and offered to return immediately to the tribunals and retract their declaration.[1] Again, in 1746, another persecution, more merciless than any which had preceded it, was kindled in every province. "On every side," writes one who bravely accepted his own portion of it, "are heard the groans of the Christians; every where they are bound in fetters or put to the torture; every where they seek to force them, by every species of cruelty, to renounce Jesus Christ." Yet the noble-hearted missionaries, who were in the thick of the battle, far from shrinking under a trial which they had come so great a distance to seek and to brave, only express their loving compassion for their less fortunate brethren who could not share their perils! And even the feeblest of their spiritual children generously emulated the example of their apostolic guides. A girl of nineteen, when brought before the tribunal, showed such unearthly joy in her countenance at the thought of confessing the name of Jesus, that the enraged mandarin exclaimed, "Knowest thou not that I have power to condemn thee to death?" "Here is my

[1] *Lettres édifiantes*, tome xxii. p. 287.

head," replied the Christian maiden, "you can order it to be cut off; but for me it will be unspeakable happiness to lay down my life."[1] The heathen understood from such examples, that if they would effectually scatter the flock, they must first "smite the shepherds." Search was every where made for the missionaries, who, though eagerly aspiring to martyrdom, obeyed the injunction of their divine Master, and ventured not to seize the crown till His own hand offered it to them.[2] Father Alcober was the first seized, and the first tortured. When the obscene pagans addressed to him impure interrogatories, he answered with a loud voice, "Questions worthy of a minister of Satan do not deserve any reply."[3] Fathers Royo, Serrano, and Diaz were

[1] *Lettres édif.*, tome xxiii. p. 46.

[2] "We know," says a Chinese bishop and confessor, Mgr. Rizzolati, in 1845, "that it is not permitted to anticipate the designs of Providence, without a special impulse of Divine grace, nor unless one is mercifully predestined to receive the palm of martyrdom." *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, vol. vii. p. 257, English edition.

[3] These questions referred to female converts who had consecrated themselves to a life of chastity. "Who advised you," they said, on the same occasion, to a young woman, "to embrace virginity?" "Myself," she replied; and she was immediately consigned to the torturers. An incident is related of Father Alcober, which reminds one of similar tales often narrated,

captured in succession, and horribly tortured. The first confessed that he had been thirty years in China; the two last were consigned to the executioners without even a question. But it was the Bishop, the venerable Sanz, who was the special object of their search. To save the Christians the vexations and sufferings which they endured in their generous attempts to conceal him, he considered it his duty to give himself up; and having addressed the tribunal with the fire and zeal of an apostle, he received at once twenty-five blows in the face, which were afterwards increased, in spite of his venerable age, to ninety-five;[1] and finally, after an apostolate of thirty years, he was martyred, on the 26th of May 1747. His last words to the executioner were, "My friend, I am going to heaven; would that I could take you with me!" His blood was collected,

and always received with avidity, in our own country. They found in his house a chest of bones. The heathen said, "These are the bones of children whom he has killed." The mandarins appointed a commission to examine them, who reported that they were the bones of a man. They were, as the reader has no doubt anticipated, the relics of a former missionary. *Lettres édifiantes*, tome xxiii. p. 59.

[1] In this torture the head was turned back over the shoulders, and the face violently struck with a bamboo. It was a common thing for the sufferer to faint at the first blow.

according to custom, by a famous brigand and malefactor, who afterwards became, no doubt through the prayers of the martyr, a fervent Christian.[1]

But the heathen themselves have furnished their own record of this celebrated persecution. The viceroy, by whose supreme authority these deeds were done, in his official report to the emperor, complains of the missionaries, as an unpardonable offence, that "as they were conducted in chains, thousands of persons came to meet them, and to serve them as an escort of honour. Many showed by their tears the grief which they felt; girls and women knelt before them, and offered them all kinds of refreshments. Every one wished to touch their clothes. A young man named Tching-sieou had the impudence to put himself at the head of this multitude, and to exhort them, saying, amongst other things,—It is for God that you suffer; let not death itself overcome you."[2] In this terrible persecution, however, some apostatised, as Christians did even in the first ages, unable

[1] The sentence pronounced against Bishop Sanz contained the following passage: "The number of those whom he has already perverted is so great, that to whatever side we turn in this district, there is nothing else to be seen; and what is more, the very members of the tribunals, and even the soldiers, are devoted to him." *Annals*, vol. ix. p. 309.

[2] *Lettres édif.*, tome xxiii. p. 72.

to bear the torment. Yet one of the missionaries calls them "apostates only for a moment," and speaks of their subsequent public penance as "resembling that of the primitive Christians." Meanwhile their guides and masters in the Way of the Cross failed them not; and if they invited them to suffer for Jesus, first showed them, by their own example, how to do so. To Father Beuth the presiding mandarin said, "What sort of a God is He whom you wish people to adore?" "He who created the heavens and the earth." "Oh, the wretch; as if the heavens and the earth were created! Give him ten blows." Then writing the Holy Name in Chinese characters, he asked the confessor whose name it was. "The name of the second Person of the blessed Trinity, who became Man for our salvation." "Ten blows more," shouted the mandarin; and the same punishment was a third time repeated, when the bleeding victim once more proclaimed with unfaltering lips the titles of his God and Saviour. Two months after he died of his wounds; his only delight in his last moments being to hear the Passion of our Lord read to him by his fellow-prisoners.

From that hour the missionaries fell fast; but as each victim left a space in the ranks, another hurried forward to fill it. On the 12th of September 1748,

FF. Tristan de Attermis and Joseph Henriquez were strangled in prison, after repeated tortures; and on the 28th of October, four Dominican fathers joyfully embraced together the same fate. Nor did the flock for whom these apostolic shepherds laid down their life cease to prove worthy of them. In 1766, we find a holy missionary exclaiming, with grateful admiration, "With what courage does not God inspire these Asiatics, so pusillanimous by nature, in order to render them constant under a ceaseless persecution!" and he continues to say, "What innocence in the great majority! who, without even the opportunity of exercising the duties of their religion, since they cannot so much as see a missionary, never fall into apostasy, and carefully cause their children to be baptised."[1]

[1] *Lettres*, t. xxiii. p. 483. It would be easy to fill a volume with examples of their constancy. An old Tartar officer told Father Parennin of a company of Christians living near the great wall of China, who had received baptism twenty years before, and to whom he had himself acted as lay chaplain during a long period. "I assemble these Christians in my house on festival-days; we pray together, and I give them notice of the days of abstinence and fasting: all are eager for the happiness of seeing a missionary, in order to hear Mass, and partake of the sacraments. Most of them have seen none for twelve years." *Lettres*, tome xx. p. 15.

And here let us turn for a moment from China Proper to the kingdom of Tong-king, in which the trials of the Christians were, if possible, still heavier, and their triumphs still more glorious, than those which have been already noticed.

The mission of Tong-king was founded in 1627, by Father Alexander de Rhodes, who spent twenty-five years in incessant toil and suffering, and who twice refused the dignity of the episcopate with such earnest humility that the Holy See was constrained to give way. Who can number the labours of this great apostle? who himself baptised two hundred idolatrous priests, a sister of the king, and seventeen of his near relations. In less than three years he and his companion, Father Antony Marqués, had baptised nearly six thousand persons, and amongst them several bonzes of great repute with their countrymen, who became catechists, and "rendered incalculable services to the missionaries in the preaching of the Gospel."[1] But by the influence of the king's wives, who trembled lest the monarch should embrace a doctrine which condemned polygamy; and by the arts of the heathen priests, who feared the downfall of their own lucrative imposture, — they were both banished from the realm. Yet in the fol-

[1] *Lettres*, tome xvi. p. 3.

lowing year, entering the kingdom again by stealth, they found that their fervent catechists had in their absence prepared four thousand neophytes for the reception of the sacraments. And the work so auspiciously begun went on and prospered. In 1639 there were already 82,500 Christians, and seventy-two villages in which there were hardly any pagans left. In the two years 1645 and 1646, twenty-four thousand Tong-kinese were baptised ; and within half a century the almost incredible number of *two hundred thousand* converts had been won to Christ.[1] Then that awful persecution arose which has never ceased from that hour, and which was destined to try, but not to exhaust, the faith and courage of these afflicted Christians. When Father Le Royer, and his companion Father Paregaud, secretly entered the kingdom, on the 22d of June 1692, they found that great numbers, by whom they were received with

[1] Henrion, tome ii. 2de partie, p. 390. When De Rhodes, who died in Persia on the 5th of November 1660, visited Malacca in 1645, it was in the power of the Dutch. "Alas! our church, dedicated to the glorious Mother of God, in which the great Saint Xavier had so often preached, was now abandoned to the preaching of the heretics, who vomit a thousand blasphemies against the Virgin and the saints." At Java, the Dutch shut him up in prison for offering the Holy Sacrifice in a private house. Id., tome ii. p. 394.

transports of enthusiasm, had not been able to approach the sacraments for a long period of years. "I pass whole days," says the former, in a letter to his brother, M. Le Royer des Arsix, "either concealed in a boat, which I only quit at night to visit the villages by the river-side, or hidden in some retired house." He always celebrated the holy sacrifice of the Mass before daybreak, and then returned to spend the long hours of the coming day in his place of concealment. Such a life could only have been supported by the supernatural charity and patience which seem to have always distinguished in a peculiar manner the gifted but humble Fathers of the Society of Jesus. And such a life they have willingly led, not only in China, but, as we shall see hereafter, in almost every quarter of the globe,—wherever souls were to be saved.[1] With this object,

[1] "Peuples des extrémités de l'Orient, votre heure est venue. . . . A qui doit-on cette gloire et cette bénédiction de nos jours? *A la compagnie de Jésus.*" Fénélon, *Sermon pour la Fête de l'Epiphanie,* 1685. "Et vous, célèbre compagnie, qui ne portez pas en vain le nom de Jésus, à qui Dieu a donné vers la fin des temps des docteurs, des apôtres, des évangélistes, afin de faire éclater par tout l'univers, et jusque dans les terres les plus inconnues, la gloire de l'Evangile; ne cessez d'y faire servir, selon votre sainte institution, tous les talents de l'esprit, de l'éloquence, la politesse, la littérature." Bossuet, 3ème *Sermon pour la Fête de la Circoncision,*—*Œuvres,* tome iii. p. 706.

and to declare among the heathen the glory of that Name which they adored with such ardent love, they put on the crown of thorns, and went forth bearing the Cross under which they lived and died. But let us return to the story of their labours and triumphs.

In 1694 Father Le Royer had himself baptised 467 *adults;* in 1695, 435; and in 1696, in spite of the horrible persecution then raging, 218 adults; in 1697, 247; and in 1698, 310. "Many of our Fathers," he writes, "have had a larger number of baptisms and of confessions than myself."[1] Let us pass on at once to the persecution of 1721, still more fierce and unsparing than any which had preceded it, and the effects of which sufficiently revealed what sort of Christians these were whom the prospect of suffering and death did not deter from embracing the faith, nor the dread reality persuade to abandon it.

All the tribunals throughout the land were once more thronged with Christians brought up for judgment. Luke Thu, a venerable old man, is first commanded to trample on the Cross. Lifting it up from the ground, in the sight of the raging crowd, he pressed it to his bosom, and exclaimed: "My Lord and my God, Thou who piercest the thoughts of all hearts knowest the secrets of mine: but I desire that

[1] *Lettres*, tome xvi. p. 18.

they should be known to these also, who think to dismay me by their threats, that they may understand that neither the most cruel torments nor the most appalling death can ever separate me from Thy love."[1]

Let Christians say whether there is any thing even in the primitive ages to surpass such a scene as this; and let them confess that the right hand of the Most High was indeed guiding and upholding both the apostles who could fashion such converts, and the converts who could so profit by their teaching. It is pleasant to hear that the majesty of the brave old confessor overawed even the tigers who had assembled to judge him; and for that day he was sent back to prison. But he had merited, and was still to receive, the crown of martyrdom.

As yet, however, thanks to the diligent and loving care of their neophytes, not one of the missionaries had been seized; and the tyrant Chua knew no repose till this had been accomplished. The first victims were Fathers Francis Buccharelli and John Baptist Messari, both already worn out with disease and toil; for, like all their brethren, their life was a daily martyrdom. In vain some of the higher officers of the king, cognisant of their pure and holy lives,

[1] *Lettres*, tome xvi. p. 41.

pleaded in their favour, declaring them "irreproachable in their conduct." Father Messari sunk to rest in prison, before the knife or the brand could be applied; while his noble companion, Father Buccharelli, accompanied by a triumphant escort of ten of his own converts, was led to martyrdom. They marched together to death, gaily singing psalms and hymns, and radiant with spiritual joy. The heathen, we are told, remarked with astonishment that a flock of birds of pure white plumage, unknown in that country, hovered over their heads, often resting on that of Father Buccharelli. "If the God of these Christians is so powerful," they said to one another, "why does He not command these birds to carry His adorers up into the air?"[1] Amongst the company was the aged Luke Thu; and when the crowd, compassionating his venerable years, would fain have pushed him back in order to spare his life, he answered: "Not so; these are my brothers."

On the 12th of January 1737, a great spectacle was exhibited to men and angels. Fathers Alvarez, Cratz, D'Abreu, and Da Cunha,—three of them members of noble houses, but far more noble by virtue than by lineage,—suffered martyrdom at the same moment. So bright with grace and unearthly joy

[1] *Lettres*, tome xvi. p. 59.

was the countenance of the latter as he walked to the place of execution, that a mandarin, unable to comprehend such unseasonable rapture, cried out with angry contempt: "This foreign madman thinks they are only taking him to Macao!" The heathen bystanders also said amongst themselves: "It seems that death is the delight of these foreigners. What kind of a law is this, which teaches men to despise life, and to embrace death with so much joy and satisfaction?" In 1750 the same scenes were repeated. The prisons were choked with confessors, many of whom died of starvation. The vicar-apostolic was for eighteen days pressed to the earth by a heavy weight; and the same torment was inflicted on Father Laureygo and others. But "their hearts were filled with heavenly joy, which illuminated their faces, and excited the admiration even of those who came to gaze upon them." Father Hoppe at the same time was put to the torture, while Father Michael de Salamanque died of sickness and fatigue. Finally, on the 26th of August, all the surviving missionaries were forcibly put on board a vessel, accompanied by multitudes of Christians, who, in spite of the barbarity of the ruffian soldiers, filled the air with their lamentations, and prostrated themselves to receive the last blessing of the fathers and guides

whom they seemed once more to be losing for ever. At the time of this last outbreak, the Jesuit fathers had more than *one hundred and twenty thousand* Christians under their charge, the Lazarists *eighty thousand*, the missionaries of Propaganda about *thirty thousand*, and the Dominicans about *twenty thousand;* making a total of more than *two hundred and fifty thousand* converts in Tong-king alone. The persecution continued after their departure; and never were faith and love more sorely tried by the Divine permission than in the kingdom of Cochin-China. But, though some fell away, the great majority were able to bear it, as the event proved. "I am astonished to find," is the testimony of one of the missionaries who succeeded in penetrating the country at a later period, "that the greater part of my Christians make confessions in which I can hardly find matter for absolution. At first I suspected them to be imperfectly instructed; but the simple manner and devout tone in which they answer my questions convince me of the innocence and candour of their souls. 'O my father,' they say to me, 'how should I dare do *that* against my God, who has called me to His holy religion? May my Saviour Jesus Christ, who died for me, never suffer me to fall into such a sin!'"[1]

[1] *Lettres*, tome xvi. p. 194.

We have now almost reached that memorable and gloomy date, the fatal year 1773, which Christians will recall to the end of time with amazement and grief. In this year the work of missions to the heathen received a check from which it has never fully recovered, and of which it would perhaps be impossible to exaggerate the disastrous effects. Then was suppressed, though happily to be again revived, one of the noblest institutions which was ever framed by human wisdom, enlightened and guided by the inspirations of the Holy Spirit. What the fate of the heathen world might have been if the Society of Jesus had not been overthrown in the very climax of its glory and usefulness,—when its members were doing battle in every stronghold of Satan over the wide face of the earth, and every where with success,—who shall venture to say? We shall see more fully in the course of these pages what were the bitter fruits of that great conspiracy before which the sons of St. Ignatius bowed their heads in meek submission.[1]

[1] The last superior of the Jesuits at Peking, when the fatal edict was announced, wrote thus to a friend: "Let us submit and adore. I confess to you, however, that in spite of the most complete resignation, my heart has received an incurable wound. O my God, how many souls will now be replunged into the darkness of idolatry! how many will never emerge

To speak now of China only, where, for a time, it threatened the wreck and dissolution of Christianity, it is a melancholy consolation to those who venerate the Society as perhaps one of the greatest works of God, after the Church, with which none other can even be compared, to read the following grave and weighty words of a learned and distinguished person, who had not himself the happiness to be a Catholic.

"A considerable portion," says Sir George Staunton, "of the intercourse which actually subsists between China and the nations of Europe owes its origin, as is well known, to the influence of religious motives; and was established by the indefatigable zeal and appropriate talents of the early missionaries of the Catholic Church. It is difficult to say how far even the most ancient of the institutions upon which

from it!" *Annals*, vol. ix. p. 310. If any thing was wanting to prove how perfectly these holy men were united to God, their conduct at this great crisis, to which we shall refer again hereafter, would supply the proof. In less than a century they had given *four hundred martyrs* to the Church, and from the date of their foundation twice that number. But the immutable justice of God has restored them to their place. In 1846, there were once more 627 Jesuits employed in the foreign missions alone. Henrion, tome ii. 2de partie, p. 680. In the single year 1848, more than 130 members of the society left Europe for various parts of the world. *Ibid.*, vol. xi. p. 317. We shall meet them again.

the fabric of the Chinese government is founded, or the most deeply rooted of the prejudices and attachments by which it continues to be sustained, *could have withstood their powerful and undermining influence*, had they not happened to have lost the support and countenance both of the head of the Catholic Church and of their respective temporal sovereigns."[1]

[1] *Laws of China*, pref. pp. 3, 4; cf. *Lord Macartney's Embassy to China*, vol. ii. ch. ii. p. 159, 2d edit. It is well known with what unavailing anguish Clement XIV. regretted his reluctant condescension to the clamour and prejudice of his age, and the malice of such spurious philosophers as Choiseul and Pombal. Even Protestants have been more just to the society than men who were nominally Catholics. "The Jesuits at one time bid fair to convert both India and China; and if their career had not been stopped by political events, *would probably have finally succeeded*." *India as it may be*, by George Campbell, Esq., ch. viii. p. 397 (1853). "No men ever behaved with greater equanimity," says another candid Protestant, "than the last of the Jesuits; and the extinction of the order was a heavy loss to literature, a great evil to the Catholic world, and an unspeakable injury to the tribes of South America." Howitt, *Colonization and Christianity*, ch. x. p. 141. "Every thing was against the Jesuits," says the most upright and illustrious of continental Protestants; "and yet nothing can be more certain than that a great idea is attached to their name, their influence, and their history. Why so? It is because they knew what they were doing, and what they desired to do; because they had a full and clear acquaintance with the principles upon which they acted, and the aim to which they tended; that is to say, they had great-

Having reached this critical point of our narrative, it may be convenient to suspend for a moment the history of religion in China, in order to contemplate the first example of that instructive *Contrast* which it is the main object of this work to trace, and which will be proved, for every part of the earth, by accumulated and superabundant evidence. We shall have indeed to turn back once more to the story of the decay and revival of missions in all the provinces of the Chinese empire. We shall see that the Church, though embarrassed for an instant by the retirement of so many of her best servants, summoned by her creative voice new labourers to the field, and con-

ness of thought and greatness of will." Guizot, *History of Civilization in Europe*, Lecture xii. Finally, Sir Woodbine Parish has the honour to pronounce one of those memorable judgments which vindicate the innocent, in the esteem of wise men, from the gibes and calumnies of ages. Speaking of the Order in Paraguay and Brazil, he says, "A more inoffensive community never existed. It was an experiment on a vast scale, originating in the purest spirit of Christianity. . . . . Its remarkable success excited *envy* and *jealousy*, and caused a thousand idle stories to be circulated as to the political views of the Jesuits in founding such establishments, which unfortunately gained too easy credence at a time when the public mind was much irritated against their encroachments (?) at home, and contributed, there is no doubt, to hasten the downfall of their order." *Buenos Ayres*, part iii. ch. xvii. p. 256.

ceived in her ever-fruitful womb a new generation of apostles, by whose fostering care the Word of Truth has again been borne to the ends of the earth. We shall see the noble family of St. Vincent of Paul spreading themselves over the far East, and watering with fresh showers of blood the parched soil of more than one heathen land. And if we may anticipate the result of their holy toils, it is summed up, as far as China is concerned, by this single fact;—that whereas China Proper counted in 1805 only 200,000 Christians, they had increased in 1840, according to a Protestant authority, to 583,000, or, including Tong-king and Corea, to nearly *one million*,—and this in spite of one of the most awful and unrelenting persecutions which has ever occurred in the annals of the Church of Christ.[1] Such is the marvellous revival of which we shall have shortly to notice some of the principal features: meanwhile let us, by a painful effort, put out of sight for a moment these men of God, and their noble work, and turn to others whose real

[1] The estimate for 1805, which is perhaps too low, is that of Sir George Staunton; *Laws of China*, p. 176 note. The Abbé Huc, about thirty-five years later, calculated them at 800,000, and he had visited the missions throughout the empire. "It is estimated that there are not less than 583,000 Catholic converts in China at this time." *Around the World*, by Commodore George C. Read, vol. ii. p. 230 (1840).

character we shall best estimate from the consideration of their own words and their own acts.

The history of *Protestantism* in China, which we are now to consider, has been written by Mr. Gutzlaff, himself one of its earliest and most conspicuous advocates, and it is to his pages that we shall in the first place have recourse. He opens his story after this fashion: "Dr. Morrison was *the first herald of the Gospel* who landed on the shores of China."[1]

Without staying to notice the odiousness of this empty vaunt, or its audacious inconsistency with the testimony which Mr. Gutzlaff has himself unwillingly borne to the success of the great apostles of China,[2] it may be well to hear something of the doings of a "herald" so emphatically announced. We happen to possess a carefully executed portrait of him by one who knew the original far better than we can be expected to do. After a suitable eulogy of his varied and eminent qualifications, in which we have reason to suspect a secret irony, Mr. Ellis, a person of some

[1] *China Opened*, vol. ii. ch. xv. p. 233.

[2] Dr. White, a Protestant American bishop, in his *Instructions for the Missionaries to China*, says, "You *cannot be ignorant* that in a former age the Christian religion was extensively propagated in China; being countenanced by successive emperors, and others of high rank in the empire." *Cyclopædia of American Literature*, by Duyckinck, vol. i. p. 301 (1855).

notoriety amongst Protestant missionaries, proceeds to depict his true character as follows.

"So strong was his sense of the necessity of caution, so unwilling was he to obtrude himself on the notice of the people of Macao, *that he never ventured out of his house*"![1] The reader will observe that we are already a long way from Father Ricci and his companions: we have quitted the region of heroism, and descended to that of comedy. But Mr. Ellis continues.

"He carried this precaution *farther than was necessary;* but it seemed better to err on the safe side"! We shall hear more of him presently; but perhaps we may already venture to suggest to Mr. Gutzlaff and his confederates, that the advent of so sorry a "herald" as this might at least have been more modestly announced. Trumpets and cymbals were altogether out of place here. Surely the very smallest musical instrument, the faintest sound that ever was emitted by pipe or reed, would have sufficed to introduce such a performer as this. Let us continue his history.

"The first time he ventured out into the fields adjoining the town of Macao, was *in a moonlight*

[1] *Brief Notice of China and Siam,* by the Rev. W. Ellis, author of "Polynesian Researches," p. 59.

night, under the escort of two Chinese."[1] The whole narrative, which unfortunately we must pursue to the end, is so supremely ludicrous, that it almost defies serious comment. Here is a man whose imprudent colleagues claim for him the lofty title of "first herald of the Gospel" to the Chinese empire; yet who begins, and, as we shall see, continues his career with such abject cowardice, that had it been displayed by the representative of a Birmingham hardware establishment, or the travelling agent of an American clock factory, he would have been ignominiously dismissed from his functions. Yet this is the person selected for comparison with the sublime apostles and martyrs of China, and styled, by the indiscretion of his friends, its first apostolic missionary. We are compelled, therefore, however reluctantly, to consider with some detail his claims to that character. What Ricci was, and Adam Schaal, and Ferdinand Verbiest, and a hundred more, and what they did, we know; let us see how far Morrison was like them, in his character and in his works.

Mr. Morrison appears to have commenced life in

[1] *Brief Notice of China and Siam.* He confesses himself, "the Portuguese Roman Catholics at Macao do not do any thing violent against us." *Memoirs of Robert Morrison, D.D.*, by his Widow, vol. i. p. 288. The truth is, they took no notice of him.

the humble guise of "apprentice to a last and boot-tree maker;" but he was a patient and industrious Scotchman, of moderate talent but adequate self-esteem, and resolved, with the characteristic tenacity of his countrymen, to better his condition. In due time he became a preacher, not a very difficult feat in Scotland; and his new office not leading to very substantial results, he accepted an offer to experimentalise at Canton. He had acquired some knowledge of the elements of the Chinese language; but his widow,—he was twice married,—tells us, that on his voyage out, "Dr. Morrison sat him patiently down to *the Jesuit Harmony of the Gospels*, and copied out every syllable of it *for his own future use*."[1] It was impossible to acknowledge more frankly his obligations to the men whom he was now going to teach how to convert the Chinese. His biographer adds, however, the suggestion,—that perhaps "angelic eyes sometimes looked over his shoulder, beholding with growing admiration both the wisdom and goodness of God in thus training the man," by the help of the Jesuits, "who was to unbar the gates of life to the millions of the East." As the poor man never unbarred any gates whatever, not even his own, which he always kept carefully locked, "the millions of the

[1] *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 134.

East" were not, as we shall see, much indebted to him.

Arrived at Macao, his labours appear to have been confined to fugitive excursions "by moonlight;" but if he did nothing else there, he at all events "found an object of tender esteem,"[1]—that is, he fell in love; and from this time forth ardent allusions to "my beloved Mary" alternate in the pages of his journal with texts of Scripture *à propos* of every thing, and nothing. His manner of compounding the two topics together is worthy of notice. If his wife, for they were speedily married, has a headache, *he* declares that "it pleased the Lord" to support her in some unexpected way; and if he has one himself, *she* —not the first, but the second wife—solemnly affirms that he did not "murmur," but that, on the contrary, "his entire acquiescence in the arrangements of Divine Providence sustained his mind."[2] "It would be all easy," he exclaims at one moment, "if Mary were well!" but the next, rebuking this momentary weakness, he adds, "Patience, O my soul!" His soul seems to have been in constant need of these admonitions. On one occasion he says, "my mind is in a serious frame, a little depressed, a little melancholy;

[1] *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 245.

[2] Ibid. p. 294.

but still holding fast." On another day the entry is, "I have to-day been *pretty* comfortable;" but on the next there was a change for the worse in his intermittent piety, and he was only "*tolerably* comfortable."[1] A little later things are decidedly bad, and he is "weighed down with an accumulated load of guilt." But as all these passages were destined to travel sixteen thousand miles, and to be printed in England, he presently throws off this light burden of sin, assumes a more cheerful character, and rejoices, in characteristic language, to be once more under "the benignant government of Jehovah."[2]

We next find him settled at Canton. "In the close of the year 1818," says Ellis, "Mr. Morrison received an appointment in the Honourable Company's factory, *which he has held to the present time*

[1] "But for the cause I serve, I would gladly exchange my present situation for any in England or Scotland of 50*l.* a year." *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 310. It is really marvellous that the editor of his memoirs did not suppress such words as these.

[2] He always seems as if he were trying to appear religious and could not succeed, and goes into an attitude as if he thought every one was looking at him. His writings, and those of most Protestant missionaries, give one the idea of people using a language which they do not understand; and remind one of the saying of Coleridge: "The newspaper, his closet, and his own person, were alone present to the author's intention and imagination." *Literary Remains*, vol. i. p. 320.

(1834), with credit to himself and satisfaction to the Company, and without neglecting the great object of his mission."[1] We can easily believe that the "great object" suffered very little from his removal to the factory. Mr. Ellis does not tell us whether the "herald" retained his partiality for moonlight walks, for which the suburbs of Canton were probably unsuited; but he does say that "he gave instructions on the Sabbath to the few Chinese who could be induced to attend;" a labour which apparently left him full leisure for his factory work; for, as his colleague Mr. Milne observes, in his *Retrospect of the Mission*, "all that the missionaries to China could frequently do, was to address *an individual or two*, with fear and trembling, in an inner apartment, *with the doors securely locked.*" Brave heralds! none but yourselves could fitly describe you.[2]

And yet Mr. Ellis does not blush to add, that "to persevere under such circumstances," with a wife

[1] *Brief Notice, &c.* p. 59. "This station had its disadvantages," is the temperate comment of the Religious Tract Society, in their *Missionary Records*, ch. i. p. 10.

[2] A vehement Presbyterian preacher, moved, in spite of himself, to honest contempt, calls it "a skulking and precarious sojourn in obscurity and disguise." *China and the Chinese Mission*, by the Rev. James Hamilton, p. 20.

and an ample salary, "required no common strength of principle, no faint and wavering love to Christ and love to souls, and no mere transient impulse of desire for their salvation." Alas, that men should so mock God and their own souls!

It appears that Morrison's salary at the factory was 500*l.* a year,[1] which was a decided improvement on "the last and boot-tree" business.[2] It was on his promotion to this income, which to the poor Scotchman must have seemed almost fabulous, that his judicious biographer makes the following appropriate remarks. "*Thus* did the Supreme Disposer of all events attest the fidelity of His servant, and make plain his way before him!" It seems to be the fate of these people to be always most amusing when they intend to be most serious, and to fall into hopeless

[1] *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 245; "which was, after a few years, increased to 1000*l.*" *History of the Propagation of Christianity among the Heathen*, by the Rev. William Brown, M.D., vol. ii. p. 252, 3d edit.

[2] He appears to have been also a private tutor, and talks of "a Dutch youth, my fifth pupil." *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 293. When he made out his first bill for the missionary society which employed him, "making a total of 920 dollars;" he added, with scrupulous attention to details, "In this statement I have not included the purchase of *candles*, which are here very dear." vol. i. p. 156.

absurdity just when they make the greatest effort to be solemn and imposing.[1]

It was now necessary to the security of his position that this "first herald of the gospel" should acquire a competent knowledge of Chinese, to which he had applied himself with eager industry, but apparently with only moderate success. We have seen that his first text-book was a *Harmony of the Gospels*, composed long before he was born, by men who had no leisure for moonlight strolls, seldom locked their doors or had any to lock, and never accepted appointments in factories. He continued, as he began, to profit by the labours of Catholics. "I cannot refrain from inserting," he says, "that I have now the assistance of Chinese Christians *of the Romish Church;*"[2] who seem to have treated him with good-humoured contempt, but always with civility, as he acknowledges, sometimes even forwarding his letters and parcels to Macao. Elsewhere his journal records: "I read part of the Exposition of the Ten Command-

[1] During Morrison's voyage out, the sailors caught a shark, by the usual method adopted in such cases; upon which he notes in his journal, with due foresight of its future appearance in print, "The cruelty and fraud practised in catching the shark shocked my feelings." vol. ii. p. 239. One is curious to know how Mr. Morrison would propose to catch a shark?

[2] *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 167.

ments *by the Catholics.*" His immediate instructor was Abel Yun, "a Roman Catholic Chinese from Peking," and a convert of the Jesuits; of whom he says, "They have taught him the Latin language, which he speaks fluently."[1]

And now, having made some progress in the language under his Catholic teachers, he remembers that people at home consider him a "missionary," and that he must do something to keep up the character; and so, in the words of Mr. Ellis, "this devoted missionary tried the practicability of printing part of the Scriptures;" and then follows another notable confession: "The Acts of the Apostles, *the translation of which had been the work of some Roman Catholic missionary*, a copy of which he had obtained in Eng-

[1] *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 163. Elsewhere he says, "Received from a Chinese Roman Catholic a present of three small volumes, containing an Exposition of the Decalogue. His younger brother, an intelligent boy, sold me a book of Meditations." *Missionary Transactions* of the London Missionary Society, vol. iii. p. 328. His colleague, Mr. Milne, seems also to have greatly profited by the help of Chinese Catholics; vol. iv. p. 246. Dr. Marshman, of Serampore, acknowledges, with creditable candour, that his "first sight of a Latin-Chinese dictionary he owed to the politeness of the Catholic missionary Père Rodriguez, who had spent twenty years in China." *Chinese Grammar*, by J. Marshman, D.D., preface, p. ii.

land, was his first undertaking."[1] Unfortunately this, as well as his later undertakings in the same line, was conducted with more ambition than success. What was the value of his translations of the Scriptures, as soon as he ventured to leave his Catholic guides, and trust to his own powers, we have seen;[2] while of his grammar a Protestant authority says, "He has perhaps done something to help an English beginner, but his work is rather a record of the *imperfection* than of the completeness of his own progress."[3]

[1] *Brief Notice, &c.* p. 61. "It must not be forgotten that the Catholics translated the major part of the New Testament into Chinese." *China, its State and Prospects*, by W. C. Medhurst, ch. ix. p. 248.

[2] The character of the various translations published by the British and Foreign Bible Society, many of which are worthless and absurd, will be discussed, with ample illustrations, in the preface to the complete work.

[3] *Monthly Review*, vol. xcix. p. 469. The director of the Chinese seminary at Pulo-Pinang reports, that "the Chinese themselves publicly declare that even Dr. Morrison understood nothing of their language." *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, tome iii. p. 46. The learned Abel-Remusat contrasts the ignorance of modern pretenders with the accurate knowledge of the Jesuits, "who composed in Chinese in a style equal to the best authors of that country." *L'Empire Chinois*, preface, p. xix. Of Morrison's Dictionary, which, as Klaproth told him, was only a feeble imitation of Father Prémare, a competent judge says:

But it was nothing to write books, feeble as they were, and costing the well-disposed dupes in England prodigious sums, unless he could contrive to get them into circulation. There was, however, some danger of irritating the Chinese; and so he proceeds in a manner perfectly characteristic of himself, and which he avows with a simplicity which does him credit. "As to *circulating* the books which I have printed," he says, "there is nothing done in this respect but with the utmost secrecy and caution, and in a way *that could not easily be traced to me*"![1]

Thus far this valiant herald of the new gospel in China does not attract our admiration, nor does one see how he can reasonably be ranked with the Mis-

"It must be confessed that it has not only many faults, but that it is *very* defective." *Desultory Notes on the Government and People of China*, by Thomas Taylor Meadows, Interpreter to the British Consulate, p. 24.

[1] A Protestant writer, whose sympathies were all in his favour, truly observes, that "Dr. Morrison's labours were not of a dazzling and heroic order." *The Cross and the Dragon, &c.*, by John Kesson, of the British Museum, p. 211, ch. xv. Another remarks, that "the Jesuits have never found any difficulty in circulating the books which they have printed in Chinese; but, on the contrary, they have been obliged, after circulating a large impression, to print a second edition." *Memoir on Sending the Scriptures to China*, by William Moseley, p. 22.

sionaries of the Cross, except on the familiar principle of naturalists, who class men and monkeys indifferently in the order of *mammalia*. It is time, however, before we take leave of him, to inquire what success he had in inducing the refractory "millions of the East" to enter "the gates of life." He will tell us himself.

"On the Lord's day I have preached to the Chinese in my own house,"—they were apparently his servants,[1]—"but I have not to rejoice over them as converted to God." Yet in the next sentence he tells of four Catholic missionaries just banished from

[1] *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 298. The devices of Protestant missionaries to obtain a congregation are sometimes ingenious. Bishop Courvezy, Vicar-Apostolic of Siam, relates, in 1838, of those at Bankok: "They print and distribute tracts, but do not make a single proselyte. By distributing medicines they contrive to collect together a certain number on Sundays. The way they manage the matter is as follows: all those who come for remedies on the Saturday are told that they shall have them if they come at a certain hour on the following morning. When they arrive the next day, the ministers take care to have a breakfast provided for them, after which they receive instructions from a catechist *who is still a Pagan*, say some prayers, and are then invited to eat again. At length the medicines are distributed, when they who came for them depart; never again, perhaps, to make their appearance. I have received these details from two Chinese, who once attended the meetings, but have been for the last few months fervent Catholics." *Annals*, vol. i. p. 107.

Peking, precisely because they *had* enjoyed that happiness.

Again; while he is himself carefully shut up in his house, with the doors locked, and "in fear and trembling," as his colleagues say, he admits that "the Christians here," *i. e.* the Catholics, "are discovered by their *refusing* to subscribe to the public idolatrous rites of the heathen;" even these poor Chinese neophytes being more courageous soldiers of the Cross than this pitiful herald of Anglican Methodism.[1] Presently he mentions, amongst other similar cases, that "at this time a French missionary, *after repeated orders were sent to him*, was obliged to leave; whilst I remained unmolested"![2] Why should they molest him? What was a servant in the English factory to them? he had done nothing to provoke their anger,

[1] *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 165. In 1820, he notices that "four poor men, barbers, at Peking, were seized, and would not renounce the 'European religion;'" vol. ii. p. 35. In 1816 he had recorded in his journal that there was a cruel persecution of Catholics in the province of Su-tchuen. He describes the conduct of some of them. "The two leaders, who would not recant, Choo-yung and Tang-gaou, are ordered to be strangled immediately. Thirty-eight, *who also refused to recant*, are ordered to be sent to Tartary, to be given as slaves to the Eleuths. Amongst these are several women and an old man of eighty." *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 435.

[2] Ibid. vol. i. p. 209.

and he knew it: but it *looked* like courage to allude to the possibility of perils which the true shepherds calmly faced, and which he had taken such ingenious precautions to avoid. In another place he says, "there have been edicts against the Roman Catholic missionaries, threatening them with severe penalties; but my name and pursuits are, I believe, *wholly unknown* to the Chinese government."[1] No doubt they were,—although he had now been there about six years!

The entry in his journal of March 15th, 1813, is as follows: "Present at worship only A-Fo, Low Heën, A-Pan, and A-Yun. At the beginning of worship they were irreverent and laughed," at which he "expressed his regret,"[2]—a little unfairly; for the whole proceeding must have appeared to them extremely droll. A married gentleman, reading something out of a book, hardly equalled even the pagan idea of *worship*.[3] On the 18th of April "six were

[1] *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 209.

[2] Ibid. p. 360.

[3] The attendance of these people "at worship,"—and the remark applies to Protestant converts from heathenism all over the world,—reminds one of the poet's "*assisto divinis*," an expression which, Mr. Tate tells us, some one translated, with more piety than accuracy, "I go to church and pray;" *Horatius Restitutus*.

present;" and on the 9th of May he is able to say, "I was mistaken in saying that I *never* had more than nine," including the ladies of his party, "there were this morning ten persons at worship;" but on the 23d of the same month comes the sorrowful admission, "I am concerned that *none* seem to feel the power of truth;" and again, a little later, "I am concerned that my ministrations are apparently in vain." In the following year, 1814, on "February 28th, Lord's day, I addressed *five* persons, from the 12th chapter of Hebrews. I was myself deeply interested in the subject."[1] It would, however, have been far more to the purpose if he could have succeeded in interesting others. Even twelve months later we find him still "conducting worship with Mrs. Morrison and Mrs. Milne," the "millions of the East" being obstinately indifferent to the feeble accents of so cautious a herald. And years after, in 1820, he is still saying, "all the new missionaries complain to me of being dispirited."[2] In 1822, we are told once

[1] *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 401.

[2] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 26. Yet Mr. Medhurst, speaking of this very year, says: "In 1820, a French missionary was strangled in the province of Hoo-pih, by order of the government; and L'Amiot, who had been twenty-seven years in Peking, was banished to Macao. The French monks of the order of St. Lazarus have, however, continued to labour secretly for the maintenance

more, "there are few natives on whose conscience divine truth has made an impression;" though at this very moment, as we shall see presently, Catholic converts were showing the state of their "conscience" in every province of the empire, by gladly laying down their lives for the name of Jesus. In 1832, after ten years more of costly expenditure, "only ten persons have been baptised;" every one of whom, it should be added, were immediately taken into employment, for fear of accidents, in spite of their "obscure views," and provided for by "the mission."[1]

of the Romish religion in China. For some years they have annually sent two or three young priests to that country, who quietly proceed to the head-quarters of their mission in the interior. They have now Catholic communities *in all the provinces*, and in many there are public chapels, where service is performed by native priests. The mission has two seminaries, one at Macao, *and the other in Tartary*, beyond the wall of China. They have in Peking a Catholic community, amounting to no less than *twenty-six thousand members*." *China, its State and Prospects*, ch. ix. p. 243.

[1] Several years later, the Rev. Howard Malcolm, who was sent to visit and report on all the Protestant missions in the East, says, "There is *no Chinese convert* at Canton, nor religious services in that language, nor giving of tracts." *Travels in South-eastern Asia*, p. 189. And Mr. Wells Williams confirms this candid statement nine years later (1839), when he reports of the few suspicious attendants whom Morrison collected together, "it did not expand into a regular public congregation during his

In 1834, his journal contains this extraordinary passage: "It is thirty years since I was accepted as a missionary *in Mr. Hardcastle's counting-house*"![1] Who Mr. Hardcastle was, and why in his counting-house they manufactured missionaries as well as bills

lifetime." *The Middle Kingdom*, v. ii. ch. xix. p. 327. And again, "the prospect at his death was nearly as dark as when he landed;" p. 339. While another Protestant authority throws a still darker shade into this gloomy picture by confessing that "in China, *since* the death of Dr. Morrison, little has been done." *The People of China*, by the Religious Tract Society, ch. xi. p. 326. In truth, every thing which he or his followers attempted seems to have come to naught. Thus, in the school founded by him, and called by his name, I find that out of a total of twenty-nine pupils, between 1839 and 1843, nine were dismissed for "bad conduct" or "stupidity," three ran away, and eight were removed by their parents. *Chinese Repository*, vol. xii. p. 623. If he establishes a newspaper, it dies with the first number. *The Middle Kingdom*, vol. ii. p. 354. The only redeeming points in his history are two or three rare avowals, after he had become independent of his employers, which are certainly creditable to his good sense. Thus he wrote to the celebrated Dr. Chalmers, "calling his attention to the heartless, cold, and unaffectionate religion of the Scotch, especially in these parts of the world." *China and the Missions at Amoy*, p. 11. Or again, when he quarrelled with the London Missionary Society about the salaries of their agents, and "did not hesitate to tell the directors that they acted like unregenerate men." *Unrefuted Charges against the Directors of the London Missionary Society*, by Andrew Forbes, Missionary in India, Section 1.

[1] *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 516.

of lading, is not explained. Almost the last entry still deplores his "small success;"[1] and finally, in the same year, he was made vice-consul, with a salary of 1300*l.* a year, "rather an anomalous place for a missionary," as he judiciously observes, though he cheer-

[1] *Memoirs*, p. 518. His own excuse for not attempting to enter the interior was this: "I think it is utterly impracticable to any but a Roman Catholic missionary, who has persons in the interior already attached to his cause;"—how were they attached to it?—"I don't suppose that the life of a missionary entering the interior would be taken." The Catholic missionary did not stop to discuss that. "I think he would very soon be stopped, chained, and thrown into prison, sent to Canton, and ordered away." *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 352. So he prudently avoided all risk, and staid at home. Yet he repeatedly acknowledges how different the conduct of the true missionary was. "Three European Roman Catholic missionaries entered China about a year ago . . . . there was a great risk of losing their lives if discovered by the government;" ii. 431. And again; "There is a native Roman Catholic at the seminary in Macao, who is preparing for a mission to Corea. *Many have lost their lives there;* but this person is willing to sacrifice himself. *He offers himself up to God;*" i. 403. That is, he imitated, like all his brethren, the holy courage of the first apostles. An American Protestant "bishop" notices, with extraordinary candour, the contrast between the true and false apostles. "Why is it that *we* contemplate such an enterprise with terror, or reject the idea of it as the product of a visionary zeal? Is it not because we have lost the true original idea of the ministerial commission?" *Narrative of a Tour in Turkey and Persia*, by the Rev. Horatio Southgate, vol. i. ch. xvii. p. 293 (1840).

fully acquiesced in the anomaly, and would have profited by it without scruple to the fullest extent, only the poor "herald" had run his race, and in this year he died. And so we have no choice but to bid him farewell.[1]

The second herald of Protestantism to China was Mr. Milne, who was apparently both amiable and sincere; but as Morrison himself reports that "Mr. Milne is engaged in preaching *to a few Europeans*," we need not stop for him.

The third was Mr. Medhurst, a far abler man than either of the other two, and much too rational to indulge in the vapid and unmeaning cant which was poor Morrison's habitual style. From Mr. Medhurst's evidence, generally given with remarkable candour, some important facts may be obtained.

And first, this gentleman, who was a clerical

[1] One characteristic anecdote must be added. When he visited Europe he went to Paris, to the great amusement of the scientific men there, who thus notice an incident in his visit. He preached at the Oratoire, a sort of French Socinian chapel, "a sermon, or rather a discourse, which would have been at least as appropriate in a sitting of the Academy, or of the Asiatic Society, and finished this singular homily with a prayer, which, to the great satisfaction of his audience, he thought proper to offer in Chinese!" *Journal Asiatique*, tome iv. p. 378.

agent of the London Missionary Society, frankly admits, with a creditable contempt for the prejudices of his employers, both the true character of the Catholic missionaries and the results of their work. He quotes with approbation the generous words of his colleague Mr. Milne, who nobly confessed of Ricci and his followers, "they will be equalled by few, and perhaps rarely exceeded by any;" and then he adds, with a kind of involuntary enthusiasm, "they have long since joined the army of martyrs, and are now wearing the crowns of those who spared not their lives unto the death, but overcame by the blood of the Lamb, and the word of His testimony."[1] Let us hope that the Saints whom he thus honours may intercede for him, and for his companions, before the throne of God.

Mr. Medhurst forcibly contrasts, though probably without intending to do so, the invincible courage of the Catholic missionaries with the incorrigible pusillanimity of their Protestant contemporaries. "Dozens of Catholic priests," he says, "are every year clandestinely introduced *into the country*:" but "Protestant missionaries limited their efforts for a quarter of a century to those parts where Europeans generally reside, or where the British and Dutch governments

[1] *China, its State and Prospects*, ch. ix. p. 247.

afforded protection."[1] And he utterly rejects, with a manliness and honesty which it is impossible not to applaud, the mean and feeble plea which was urged by some, that the former had friends and disciples in the interior, by whose counsels they were aided, and from whom they might expect succour. "The Catholic missionaries," he nobly answers, "*had once no knowledge of or adherents in China,* but went forth, in the first instance, unprotected."[2]

He notices also, though without comment, the apostolic poverty of the same courageous men. "The salary of each native priest," large numbers of whom now minister to their brethren, not only in China Proper, but in Tong-king and Corea, "is eighty-two dollars yearly"—rather less than 17*l.*! He might have added, if he had known it, that even the French priests, some of whom are of noble families, only receive 500 francs, or 20*l.* per annum, for their whole support.[3] The missionary vice-consul, whose his-

[1] *China, &c.* ch. vi. p. 135. He adds, "Protestant missionaries land frequently on all parts of *the coast.*"

[2] Ibid. ch. xiv. p. 366.

[3] Ibid. ch. ix. p. 245. Father Bertrand, writing from Sutchuen in 1840, says: "We have no other revenue than the alms contributed in Europe for the Propagation of the Faith." *Annals*, vol. ii. p. 53. And even from the scanty allowance of each priest was deducted "a portion, either for the support of

tory we have related, would hardly have accepted this as an adequate revenue. Of the Protestant *converts* he prudently says but little, and that little, with his usual sincerity, not much to their honour. Of "one of the first baptised," he reports that, "when told that money was never given, except for work done or goods delivered, he became indifferent, and is now, we fear, gone back."[1] Of another Chinese, the father of Leang Afăh,[2] he observes, that "he was so far softened as to worship Jehovah, though he continued to adore the idols of the country"! Of the Protestant college at Malacca, at once the most costly

the college of the mission, or for providing wine for the Holy Sacrifice, as well as books," &c.

[1] *China, &c.* ch. xi. p. 297. "A-Heën is constant in attendance to preaching on the Lord's day, but is, I fear, in his heart opposed to the Gospel." Morrison's *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 409. And these were the only followers they could collect!

[2] This was a convert who, as usual, was salaried as a printer, not only by the London Missionary Society, but also by the American Tract Society, who "employed him at Singapore in Chinese printing." *America*, by J. S. Buckingham, Esq., vol. i. ch. x. p. 196 (1841). Subsequently Morrison used him as a preacher, though he says of his sermons, "some parts receive a shade of colour from his recent paganism." *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 357. I find this entry in Morrison's journal,—"Promised to advance fifty dollars to Afăh's father;" vol. ii. p. 71. It was always a question of dollars.

and the most impotent of Protestant efforts, he gives this account: "the students of the college *approved* of Christianity, although none of them manifested any decisive evidence of *conversion;*" and three years later he still writes,—"no instances of conversion have occurred among the native students."[1] Writing from Malacca, in 1819, to Morrison, he says, "Your Chinese congregation is larger than ours;" and then proceeds to describe its composition. First of the number is Chin, who "is a smoker of opium. He will of course find eight to ten dollars per month very inadequate." It appears, however, that they continued that allowance of pocket-money to their interesting neophyte; who was no doubt very willing to smoke opium at their expense, and even to let them call him a Protestant, as long as they paid him for the permission.[2]

[1] *China, &c.* ch. xii. p. 317.

[2] It is difficult, amidst conflicting evidence, to make up one's mind about the opium-trade in China, though one would certainly not like to be engaged in it. Mr. Montgomery Martin says, with his usual animation of style: "The records of wickedness, since the world was created, furnish no parallel to the wholesale murders which the British nation have been, and still are, hourly committing in China." *China, Political, Commercial, and Social*, vol. ii. p. 260. The question is discussed in its fiscal and economical aspect in the *Memorials of Indian Government*, by Henry St. George Tucker, p. 158. One Protestant missionary says: "Some of us have experienced serious embarrassments from

"He once promised fair to be a Christian," says Mr. Medhurst; "when in affliction," that is, when out at elbows, "he destroyed his idol; when restored, gave loose to evil habits."[1] Another of this edifying "con-

having the best teachers we can procure stupefied and disabled by the influence of opium." *Asiatic Journal, New Series*, vol. xxxii. p. 329. But another reports, that "the Chinese themselves affirm that the use of the drug acts as a preventive against disease; and in this opinion, when smoked in moderation, I am inclined in part to agree with them." *Two Years in China*, by D. M'Pherson, M.D., ch. xxi. p. 247. At all events, the Protestant missionaries have discovered that they must not be too closely connected with opium-dealers. "One of these gentlemen," says Sir J. Davis, "some years since, oddly enough distributed tracts from an opium ship!" *Sketches in China*, vol. i. ch. ix. p. 278. And the intelligent Mr. Medhurst remarks, that "the connection of a missionary with a regular opium ship was found to be disreputable." *China, its State and Prospects*, ch. xiv. p. 371. If, however, their "converts" use the drug, it is evident that they give them money to purchase it.

[1] *Morrison's Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 13. "At Singapore," says the Rev. Howard Malcolm, "where extraordinary efforts have been made, not a single Malay has yet been converted to the Protestant religion; while the Catholic missionaries, who have two churches there, *have effected a great number of conversions amongst the Malays, the Chinese, and others*, and assemble every Sunday in their churches a considerable concourse of men of all religions. What can be the reason of this difference?" *Travels in South-eastern Asia.* The only one he can suggest is, that "the Papist missionaries are in general men of pure morals, and live much more humbly." iii. 24.

gregation,"—who were of course all returned to the admiring and agitated sympathisers in England as genuine "converts,"—was a certain Lee, evidently a man of talent, who seems to have known perfectly well what sort of people he had to deal with, and directed his plans accordingly. Allowing Medhurst to suppose that he was about to desert him, the latter wrote off urgently to Morrison, entreating him to promise Lee that he should be appointed "the first Chinese teacher in the college,"—which is probably just what that intelligent individual aimed at. And it is the Protestant people of England and America, the two most practical nations of the world, who pay for the support of such colleges and such converts as these![1]

[1] The history of the Malacca college, one of the most instructive in the annals of Protestant missions, deserves more attention than can be given to it in these pages. Probably no one knows exactly how many thousand pounds it cost the people of England and America before it was finally abandoned. Mr. Howard Malcolm says, with his usual truthfulness, "the schools so vigorously and so long maintained, have not been prolific of spiritual good. Thousands who have attended them" (they were all paid for doing so) "are now heads of families; but no Malay Christian, that I could learn, is to be found in the place." *Travels*, ch. ii. p. 114. Mr. Wells Williams relates that "Protestant missions among the Chinese emigrants in Malacca, Penang, Singapore, Rhio, Borneo, and Batavia, have never taken much hold upon them, and they are at present all sus-

Mr. Medhurst finishes the letter just referred to with this significant question to his equally afflicted colleague, "*Why are we not successful in conver-*

pended or abandoned." *The Middle Kingdom*, vol. ii. ch. xix. p. 331. Dr. Brown, the historian of Protestant missions, says that "these stations had been carried on for many years, and though much labour and money had been expended upon them, they had been attended with little success, particularly as regarded the conversion of souls;" vol. ii. p. 264. "The Anglo-Chinese College," he adds, "dragged on for years a languid existence;" nor was it "ever in a state of much efficiency as regarded either professors or students." *Ibid.* Once they made a desperate effort to arrest its decay by announcing that they would admit "persons of any Christian communion." *British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca*, by T. J. Newbold, Esq., vol. i. ch. iv. p. 182. But no one came. Finally, in 1842, it was closed, and Hong-kong was chosen as the site of a new attempt. Yet as early as 1824, there were three thousand Catholics in Malacca alone. *Annales*, tome ii. p. 307 : and Commodore Wilkes notices of Singapore, that although his co-religionists "have not met with any success, the Catholics have already made one hundred and fifty proselytes to their faith, though they had only recently arrived." *United States Exploring Expedition*, vol. v. p. 396. When M. Papin visited the college at Malacca, in 1834, though the most florid accounts had been sent home of its success, one of the Protestant clergy frankly confessed to him,—"that the enormous expenses incurred in its construction were only so much money thrown into the sea, and that all which had been reported of it in Europe was pure charlatanism." *Annales*, tome vii. p. 585.

sions?"[1] to which he does not himself suggest any reply, though he mutters something about "sad disunion" among the Protestant missionaries. Perhaps the evidence which is still to be offered in these pages may afford some explanation of the mystery which he was unable to solve.

It is a matter of surprise, and even of disappointment, that so sensible a person as Mr. Medhurst should have lent himself to the miserable delusion of circulating Bibles and tracts as a means of converting people who lined their slippers with the pages of the one, and made a nameless use of the other. In his case it was probably only an act of despair, and a confession that having tried every other method in vain, he had nothing left but this. Besides, the Protestant missionaries were expected by their employers to do *something*, or how should they compose those "Annual Reports," by which alone fresh funds were to be collected, and in which there was usually nothing true, except the date and the signature? So Mr. Medhurst, who would not stoop to manufacture supposititious converts, sent them other food to satisfy the craving of their credulous subscribers.[2] In 1839,

[1] Morrison's *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 14.

[2] The character of the reports published by the various societies will be more fully exhibited hereafter, by the aid of curious

he says, they had already "printed *thirty thousand* separate books of Scripture, and upwards of *half a*

revelations from the missionaries themselves. Messrs. Tomlin and Kidd, two missionaries of the London Missionary Society, wrote from Malacca, in 1830, to protest against "the numerous errors and misrepresentations with which the Annual Reports abound." Having fallen out with their employers, apparently about the usual topic of "dollars," they imprudently disclose the whole truth. "Excitement, not principle," they say, "is the leading feature of missionary zeal in England; and, as a natural consequence, *pleasing statements from the missionaries rather than facts* are sought after to fan the flame. . . . The want of strict truth in the Annual Reports, and the encouragement that is given to the missionaries to send home too favourable reports of their labours to the Society,—these things cause our hearts to ache. The directors seem to judge of people by what they *say*, not by what they *do*. Hence the inquiry is not, what are the labours which a missionary is carrying on at his station; but, *what sort of letters does he write to the directors*." Quoted in *Unrefuted Charges, &c.*, by Andrew Forbes, Missionary in India. Another Protestant missionary observes with equal candour: "It may not be out of place to caution the reader against those favourable but *false* conclusions which are too frequently deduced from missionary journals." *Journal of a Residence in China*, by David Abeel, ch. x. p. 234. And Captain Parker Snow reveals to us the whole operation, when he quotes a letter addressed to himself by the society which employed him, in which it was crudely suggested to their agents, that "the Society was at so low an ebb that something must be done; and *a graphic and well-written account of a visit to the natives* would do more to raise it up than any thing else." *Two Years' Cruise off Tierra del*

million of tracts in the Chinese language, besides *four thousand* Testaments, and *one hundred and fifty thousand* tracts in the languages of the Malayan Archipelago, comprising *twenty millions of printed pages!*" At Canton and Malacca alone, they had got rid of more than 450,000 volumes; at Batavia, of more than 190,000; at Penang, of 44,000; at Singapore, of 66,000.[1] It seems that, as they could not convert "the millions of the East," they consoled

Fuego, by Captain W. Parker Snow, vol. i. ch. xviii. p. 270. But this gentleman had more conscience than his employers, and contented himself with replying: "The whole missionary work seems to me a strange compound of piety and irreligion. . . As a whole, the system seems to me to be based upon a mere desire to get so many proselytes in so many years, and to fill up so many pages of a book as can possibly be crammed in; always keeping to *apparent* truth, though not always to *literal* truth." Vol. ii. p. 314.

[1] *China, its State and Prospects*, ch. xiv. p. 362; and see p. 590. "In the latter half of the year 1844, the tracts printed amounted to 1,128,400!" *The Year-Book of Missions*, by Elijah Hoole, p. 188. This gentleman says, that the Baptist Missionary Society *alone* had circulated, up to 1846, 659,270 copies of the Holy Scriptures, and more than "*thirty-eight million printed pages*;" p. 16. But this is only a drop in the ocean. A single American society had printed twenty-three years ago,—and they have greatly enlarged their operations since,—"*thirty-six millions* of tracts, and nearly *thirty-four millions* of volumes!" *Narrative of a Visit to the American Churches*, by Andrew Reed, D.D., vol. ii. p. 161.

themselves by supplying them with waste paper.[1] On one occasion Mr. Medhurst describes an incident which he witnessed at a place on the *coast*,—for these "amateur apostles," as one of their own sect calls them, if they put one foot on shore, always kept the other in a boat,—which can only be compared to a scene at Greenwich Fair, and was probably quite as profitable. The people, he says, were tumbling over one another in their "eagerness" to obtain books, of which, in two days, he and his party distributed "one thousand volumes." After a long account of this ludicrous adventure, he adds, with his accustomed candour, "We have been thus minute in this day's work on shore, because, with little variation, it may serve as a specimen of all the days which we spent in visiting the villages." He might well add, considering what all these books cost, and who paid for

[1] "They have been seen on the counters of shops in Macao, cut in two for wrapping up medicines and fruit; which the shopman would not do with the worst of his own books." *The Middle Kingdom*, vol. ii. ch. xix. p. 343. "The cause of the eagerness which has sometimes been evinced . . . . to obtain the sacred volume cannot be traced to a thirst for the Word of Life, but to the secular purposes, *the unhallowed uses*, to which the holy Word of God, left in their hands, has been turned, *and which are absolutely shocking to any Christian feeling*." *Bampton Lectures for* 1843, Lect. iii. p. 93.

them, "the London Missionary Society have purchased an interest in China at the expense of many thousand pounds."[1]

And now we must leave Mr. Medhurst, not without thanks for his testimony; and we cannot perhaps do so more appropriately than by citing the following words, in which he seems to have summed up, in the bitterness of his heart, his convictions of the impotence and folly of Protestant efforts to convert the Chinese. "The Christian public," he says, "having got the idea that China is shut, *must retain their opinion until we can get men of God to open it.*" The Christian public alluded to by Mr. Medhurst will have much need of patience.[2]

[1] *China, &c.* ch. xxi. p. 533. Medhurst confesses, "they were much more interested about our waistcoats, shirts, and cravats, than they were with our doctrine;" ch. xv. p. 396. "They were distributed," says Dr. Brown, "not only much too freely, but much too indiscriminately." *History of the Propagation of Christianity among the Heathen*, vol. ii. p. 255. "Many could not read," is the avowal of another; "though they seemed willing to remove their inability, since they accepted our books and our exhortation to learn this useful art at the same time." *The Chinese as they are*, by G. T. Lay, Esq., ch. xxxvi. p. 338. This is almost as amusing as the Bedouin who received a Bible from Dr. Wolff, and "promised to get it read whenever any one came to his house who *could* read"! Wolff's *Journal*, p. 176.

[2] "China is as open now, and has been for the last twenty

Our next witness is Mr. Gutzlaff, a gentleman whom we are obliged to notice, but who shall be dismissed as speedily as possible. Few men have sinned more deeply, though perhaps more in speech than in purpose, against truth, charity, and common sense, than the Rev. Charles Gutzlaff.[1] Some specimens of his language, though not the most offensive, shall be

years, as it ever will be till we strive to enter." *Narrative of a Visit, &c.*, by Dr. Reed, p. 76. "I am not only persuaded," says the Rev. Howard Malcolm, "that, at this moment, China is *not* open to the settlement of Christian teachers, but satisfied that Protestants are far from being ready to have it open." *Travels in South-eastern Asia*, vol. ii. p. 196. "When I left China," observes Mr. Lay, "there were at least half a million of natives living within the range of our daily excursions, with whom a missionary might have as many interviews as he pleased." *The Chinese as they are*, ch. vi. p. 58. No doubt they refuse to face persecution; but they are just as unsuccessful where there is liberty; for, as Lieut. Forbes remarks, "perfect toleration is granted to all sects of Christianity in the five ports." *Five Years in China*, ch. xi. p. 185.

[1] "Probably few men have excelled Dr. Gutzlaff in the capacity for rapidly inditing sentences containing a number of propositions not one of which should be correct. In fact, all his labours are characterised by superficiality and a lack of thorough research." *The Chinese and their Rebellion*, by Thomas Taylor Meadows, Chinese Interpreter to H. M. Civil Service, ch. xviii. p. 376. Lord Jocelyn observes more calmly, that "his lengthened labours require an appetite for the marvellous to digest." *Six Months in China*, ch. ii. p. 43.

given : they may safely be left, without comment, to the judgment of that portion of mankind in whom reason is not wholly obscured by passion, nor conscience converted into the submissive ally of prejudice, ignorance, and error. Of the great Ricci, this unwise man ventures to say: "What might not Ricci have done had he dedicated his labours to the Blessed Redeemer ?"[1]

It is characteristic of the heedless levity and inconsistency of his class, that Mr. Gutzlaff, almost in the next page, quotes the letter of the Empress Helena to Pope Alexander VII., in which she utters the prayer of her heart, that "the emperor and all his subjects might learn to know and adore the true God, Jesus Christ." Who taught her that name ? Who gave her courage to confess it, even from the steps of her imperial throne ? Shall we not say, then, of his words, if not of himself, *Mentita est sibi iniquitas !*[2]

[1] *History of China*, by the Rev. Charles Gutzlaff, vol. ii. p. 121.

[2] One is ashamed to plead the cause of Saints against this vulgar libeller ; but at least one may quote his own confederates against him. The Catholic missionaries, says Mr. Malcolm, taught "the glorious doctrine of the Divine Unity. The true God was set before the Chinese. Every part of the empire was pervaded by the discussion of the new faith. Prime-ministers, prin-

A few pages farther on, this discreet person notices a Catholic Bishop, Monseigneur de Saint-Martin, who, as he says, "testified to Jesus Christ before the mandarins,—a noble testimony, worthy to be recorded.[1] Elsewhere, however, he describes the ministry of the martyred apostles of China as "propagating the legends of saints,"—no evil work surely, since St. Paul did exactly the same, and the Bible itself may be called the history of saints,—"and establishing the ceremonies of the Romish Church." Yet, like all her enemies, of whom the Holy Spirit declares, "No weapon that is formed

cesses, queens, and emperors, became converts and patrons. Thousands and tens of thousands saw and acknowledged the truth. True, they were Jesuits; but that very many of them were holy and devoted men is proved by their pure lives, severe labours, innumerable privations, and serene martyrdom;" vol. ii. p. 225. Another writer,—a Scotch Presbyterian preacher, even more violent and prejudiced than most of his class, and who declaims as if he were supreme pontiff of this world and of several others,—seems quite astonished to find that "some of their converts appear to have been exemplary Christians;" and that "on the Trinity and Incarnation they are clear, while the perfections of the Deity, the corruption of human nature, and redemption by Christ, are fully stated." *China and the Chinese Mission*, by the Rev. James Hamilton, p. 15. It would be well for our Protestant friends if they knew as much about "redemption by Christ" as they think they do.

[1] *History of China*, vol. ii. p. 156.

against thee shall prosper ; and every tongue that resisteth thee in judgment, thou shalt condemn ;"[1]— he is obliged to bear witness against himself. "While the missionaries," he says in another place, as if some angel had struck him on the mouth, and forced him to devour his own blasphemy, "held assemblies, and instituted congregations in honour of the Holy Virgin, they had also assemblies where the most fervent Christians *meditated upon the death and sufferings of our Saviour.*"[2] It was because they did so, that they so often found grace to become His martyrs.[3] How

[1] Isaias liv. 17.

[2] *Journal of Three Voyages along the Coast of China*, p. 398.

[3] Morrison relates in his journal, that, having gone "on Friday evening to the Roman Catholic cathedral," he witnessed what was evidently a commemoration of the Passion of our Lord. He describes what he calls "a representation of Jesus," and adds : "The preacher called upon the people to look at the part into which the spear was thrust, and held out his finger to point to it. In a corner was a figure as large as life, laid in a tomb, and exhibited as the body of Jesus. The people went forward, one after another, and kissed the feet of the figure." *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 361. One Ringeltaube, a Protestant missionary in India, narrates a similar scene in a church in that country, in which "the coronation of Christ with thorns was represented." *Missionary Transactions*, vol. ii. p. 414. It was by such sensible and lively images, which St. Gregory the Great calls "the books of the unlearned," that they were assisted to familiarise their minds with the Passion of their Redeemer, and to conceive the thought of laying down their lives for Him.

many such assemblies have Mr. Gutzlaff and his friends succeeded in forming? how many such congregations have they established? what, indeed, have they "established" except themselves and their families?

But it is time to show what are Mr. Gutzlaff's own feelings towards the Redeemer, of whom, and of His dearest children, he talks so idly; and what are his qualifications as a judge of Christian doctrine. There were once, as has been noticed in the beginning of this chapter, Nestorians in China. Mr. Gutzlaff, as might be expected, declares his sympathy with these heretics, in order to exalt them above Catholics, whom he hates with the eager instinct of impiety. "When the Church," says this judge of saints and martyrs, "was rent by the disputes of *cold-hearted orthodoxy*, the Nestorians were persecuted *by the other parties*;"—the other parties being the Fathers of the Council of Ephesus![1] Now the Nestorians,

[1] *Journal*, p. 389. Even the most extravagant sectaries used formerly to reverence the decrees of this Council, the very students in the Academy of Geneva being taught to say,—"I abhor all the heresies which have been condemned by the first Council of Nice, *the first of Ephesus*, and that of Chalcedon." Ruchat, *Histoire de la Réformation de la Suisse*, tome vii. p. 291. Yet now it seems to be derided even by men professing what are called "church principles." Dr. Southgate, an American "bishop," who seems to have been a kind of "Puseyite," speaks

as Mr. Gutzlaff must have known, asserted two Persons in our Blessed Lord, and denied the Hypostatic Union, thereby utterly destroying and making void the whole doctrine of the Incarnation, upon which alone Christianity rests. But this is a very small

of "the Nestorian heresy, if such it must be reputed"! *Narrative of a Tour in Turkey and Persia*, vol. ii. ch. xix. p. 224. Mr. Badger, a clergyman of the Church of England, actually ventures to say, "The Nestorian Church *abounds in noble gifts and rightful titles*;" and only just glances at their "doctrine of the Two Persons in our blessed Lord"! *The Nestorians and their Rituals*, vol. ii. ch. xlvi. p. 351. Another Anglican, after giving an account of Nestorian doctrine, asks, "In all this where is there any heresy?" Ainsworth's *Travels in Asia Minor*, vol. ii. ch. xli. p. 272. Mr. Ainsworth should stick to his geology; he is more at home there than in Christianity. The Rev. Justin Perkins, of whom we shall hear more hereafter, though he contradicts Mr. Badger, and declares that the Nestorians "are very degraded," and profess "a revolting form of Christianity," says flatly, that the epithet which the Council of Ephesus gave to our Blessed Lady is "idolatry." *Residence in Persia among the Nestorian Christians*, p. 303. The Rev. Henry Townley observes of the Nestorian error, "instead of rejecting this as an heretical tenet, or denouncing the Syrians for holding it, we hail it as a point of *orthodoxy* on which we are agreed"! *An Answer to the Abbé Dubois*, p. 230. Lastly, even Mr. Webb Le Bas, of whom one might have hoped better things, appears to regard "the appellation of Mother of God" as a "blasphemy." *Life of Bishop Middleton*, vol. i. chap. xi. p. 319. Does the Church of England also reject the Council of Ephesus? Perhaps she does not know.

matter with Christians of the school of Mr. Gutzlaff. What care they about the honour of Him, of whom they know nothing but the Name, and of whose Natures and Person they are so absolutely ignorant as scarcely to heed whether He be called God or Man, or both, or neither. It was the saying of a keen observer, whose life was passed among Protestants, that "Calvinists treat the Saviour as their inferior, Lutherans as their equal, and Catholics as their God."[1] Do not expect, then, from Mr. Gutzlaff that jealous and holy solicitude for the honour of Jesus which is born of Catholic love, and dies under the poisoned breath of heresy. For him, and such as him, the anguish which "the children of the kingdom" feel when that sacred Name is dishonoured has simply no meaning; it is but "cold-hearted orthodoxy." He scoffs at the burning indignation which such words as his excite; and though he cannot even comprehend why men should be so fastidious about the Person and Attributes of their God and Saviour,—of whom he knows no more than we do of Nimrod, Theseus, or Romulus,—be sure he will have bitter words of malice and scorn for those who do.

[1] Frederic II. to Cardinal Zinzendorff: *Dictionnaire des Apologistes involontaires*, par M. l'Abbé Migne, Introd. p. 31.

When we have heard what Mr. Gutzlaff says of Protestant missionaries in China, we may part from him without further delay.[1]

"Protestants," he informs us, "have been anxious to occupy the *outposts*, rather than to enter the Chinese empire."[2] It might be indiscreet to ask Mr. Gutzlaff, why they displayed an anxiety so very unusual in Christian missionaries; nor should we obtain any answer. "In the *outer* settlements," he continues, "where the missionaries were *at liberty* to act,"—why did they not imitate the Catholics, and act *without* liberty?[3]—"they have established schools,

[1] Of course the usual incident in the life of a Protestant missionary,—which, as Erasmus said long ago, "always ends, like a comedy, with a marriage,"—is recorded of Mr. Gutzlaff. "At Singapore he formed a matrimonal connection with Miss Newell, whose temper was entirely congenial to his own." Hugh Murray's *China*, vol. ii. ch. ii. p. 158. The same writer notices that, in one of his voyages, "an individual offered the captain 700*l.* for Gutzlaff, with the view of exhibiting his person for money"! Mr. Malcolm appreciates him thus: "To pour annually millions of tracts along the same line of coast; to go in face of prohibitory edicts, *and only as protected by cannon;* and to be at the expense of both tracts and voyage, while so many of the books are yet scarcely intelligible, is at best but a very imperfect mode of conducting a mission." *Travels in South-eastern Asia*, vol. ii. ch. ii. p. 194.

[2] *China Opened*, vol. ii. ch. xv. p. 233.

[3] "Notwithstanding the persecutions that, in every reign, have

&c.; . . . yet the grand work of evangelising China can scarcely be said to have commenced in earnest."[1]

been violently carried on against them by the officers of government in the several provinces, numbers of missionaries have continued, from time to time, to steal into the country." Barrow's *Travels in China*, ch. viii. p. 448. 2d edit.

[1] He claims some converts, not in China, but in Siam! probably because he thought nobody would know any thing about the latter country. He forgot that Providence has its own witnesses. "Of the various individuals mentioned as *encouraging* in the public journals of Messrs. Gutzlaff and Tomlin, *none have continued so*, or seem particularly friendly to the missionaries. Bunty, who was baptised by Mr. Jones in 1833, and who, for a while, seemed a true disciple, grew cold, and about a year ago *left the ministry*,"—they had made him a preacher!—"to go into business, not without bitter feelings against the missionaries." *Travels in South-eastern Asia*, vol. ii. ch. ii. p. 159. A scientific Protestant frankly says that his friends were "toiling in a cause the success of which appears to be almost hopeless." *Voyage round the World*, by W. S. W. Ruschenberger, M.D., ch. xxxi. p. 310 (1838). Another, the Rev. Adoniram Judson, abandoning the scene of his mission in despair, flings to it this tragic farewell: "Read *the five hundred tracts* that I have left with thee!" *Memoirs of the Rev. Adoniram Judson, D.D.*, by Francis Wayland, vol. i. p. 503 (1853). And then comes the contrast. "We visited the priests (at Cambodea, Siam), both of them Frenchmen, who are highly respectable men. Besides the descendants of Portuguese, there are *fourteen hundred* Cochin-Chinese Roman Catholics." *Journal of a Mission from the Supreme Government of India to the Court of Siam*, by Dr. Richardson; published in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. ix. p. 237. Again,

And again, "There are *ten* native converts,"—of what sort we have seen,—"truly a small number!"

as early as 1822, "the Catholic Christians of Siam alone amount to 3000." Crawfurd's *Embassy to Siam and Cochin China*, ch. vi. p. 162: while of the pretended Protestant converts in that country a missionary sorrowfully remarks, "there were no grounds of certainty for concluding that *any* had been renewed in the spirit of their minds." *Journal of a Residence in China*, by David Abeel, ch. x. p. 234. Another writer,—for there is no lack of witnesses to show the contrast,—after observing that "it is not to be wondered at, that the Siamese readily give ear to the Catholic priest, bound like their own in bonds of perpetual celibacy," thus compares the two classes. At Bangkok "were the domiciles of some seven or eight American missionaries and their families. Three miles down the river was another set of American missionaries. The missionaries on one side were at warfare with those on the opposite bank regarding certain points of Church doctrine; but as they were all supported by one Society, they were compelled to have a board meeting once a month, to draw up reports, and send in their drafts for monthly pay." Neale's *Residence in Siam*, ch. ii. p. 34. One of them came on board his ship for "some crackers for his wife;" which not being produced, "I'll write to *the Board*, Capting, (snuffled the enraged Yankee,) and it will be quite a long day before you bring any more crackers, or any other cargo, for us missionaries—quite a long day, I guess;" p. 26. Such are the illiterate adventurers whom Protestantism sends to convert the heathen: while the Catholic missionaries are described as follows; "The Catholic Missionary Society at Bangkok, when I was there, consisted of one Bishop and about ten French priests, besides one or two proselyte Chinese priests. Of the former I can hardly name one

Yet he has the effrontery, after these confessions, and many more like them, to exclaim with mock solemnity, "We sincerely hope that henceforth Roman Catholic missionaries may emulate the Protestants in preaching Christ crucified!"[1]—an aspiration which perhaps surpasses in measureless impudence any thing that ever was uttered by the children of folly. But let us hear him to the end. "It is our earnest wish, our constant prayer, our feeble endeavour, to convince our fellow-Christians that China is not inaccessible to the operations of missionaries." Catholics, we may be allowed to observe, have been convinced of this elementary truth for several centuries. Finally, he calls upon his fellows "to strain every nerve for glorifying the Redeemer;" which is really a little unreasonable in one so firmly resolved to "occupy the outposts" rather than face the dangers of the interior; and concludes by saying, "China is open to Christian heroes and martyrs,"—as Catholics have proved for three hundred years past,—"but

that was not endowed with every talent that strict collegiate education could afford; and the latter were useful, because, besides being sincere Christians, they possessed the power of expounding the Scriptures to their Chinese brethren;" p. 39. Mr. Gutzlaff's guess about Siam was unfortunate.

[1] *History of China*, vol. ii. p. 160.

shut against a weak faith and wavering mind,"[1]—as Mr. Gutzlaff and his companions have taken needless pains to demonstrate to the world.[2]

[1] *China Opened*, p. 410.

[2] Our idea of Mr. Gutzlaff's character is not complete until we have learned that, after all his professions, and his modest advice to the Catholic missionaries to imitate his apostolic zeal, he actually abandoned, for a more lucrative calling, not only the office, but even the name of a missionary. "For some years before his death, Mr. Gutzlaff had ceased to call himself a missionary." Dr. Brown's *History of the Propagation of Christianity among the Heathen*, vol. iii. p. 371. He found it more profitable to "take the office of interpreter to the English Commission at a salary of 800*l*." *The Middle Kingdom*, vol. ii. ch. xix. p. 341. But he seems to have fallen still lower. "Mr. Gutzlaff is attached to the personal staff of the general as interpreter, but is, in fact, under Sir Hugh, head of the police." *The Last Year in China*, by a Field Officer, *Letter* xvi. p. 103 (1843). And even in this character he failed; for the same authority tells us, that on an important occasion "Gutzlaff's information proved altogether false." *Letter* xxi. p. 135. Having failed as a missionary and a policeman, he tried his hand at medicine, but always with the same result. "The Chinese eagerly sought his prescriptions, although his skill was of the most moderate character." *The Fan Qui in China*, by H. Downing, M.R.C.S., vol. ii. ch. vii. p. 175. This competent judge adds, that many of the *Catholic* missionaries really "understood the art," vol. iii. ch. iv. p. 61. Another medical authority, worried by the meddling of the Protestant missionaries, who, as they could not heal the souls, affected to cure the bodies of the Chinese, says, with emphasis: "Incalculable mischief may be done by those missionaries of the

Perhaps enough has now been said to indicate the true character of Protestant missions in China, and the shameful and ludicrous contrast which they present with those of the Catholic Church; but I must appeal to the patience of my readers, while I set before them the testimony of one more witness, a clergyman of the Church of England, who visited China at a later date, "on behalf of the Church Missionary Society." With his evidence we will close the history of Protestantism in China, from its first apparition in the person of Morrison down to a recent period. It is the Rev. George Smith who will now furnish us with the results of his experience and ob-

gospel who, possessing an imperfect knowledge of the healing art, attempt to make it a means of introducing themselves to the confidence of the heathen." *Medical Missionary Society in China*, p. 6. Mr. Malcolm, who always goes to the root of things, and had evidently a profound contempt for such a noisy pretender as Gutzlaff, adds: "It may be that *a sense of failure in regard to direct evangelical labours* renders popular the sending out of physicians." *Travels, &c.* vol. ii. p. 316. This is the last device of Protestantism, and in itself is a good one, but as a missionary project a total failure. "Dr. Parker (1844) maintains public worship on Sabbath days for *the foreign residents* in Canton; but for the Chinese very little is done out of his own house and hospital." *Chinese Repository*, vol. xiii. p. 46. See also *The Campaign in China*, by Captain Granville Locke; and *Hospital Reports of the Medical Missionary Society in China*.

servation in China, and to whom, before we separate, we may perhaps offer something in return for his valuable gift.

And first, let us do justice to the sincere but misguided zeal of our countrymen, by recording a fact with which he opens his book. "An *anonymous* donor," he tells us, "gave 6000*l.* for commencing a mission in China."[1] In England there are many earnest persons capable, according to the measure of their ability, of similar acts of piety: let it be permitted to us to lament that the objects upon which they commonly exercise their munificence have no connection whatever either with the glory of God or the true welfare of the heathen. But this is a consideration which will be more advantageously developed at a later stage of this work. Meanwhile it is really afflicting to think that the whole of the noble gift alluded to above has perhaps long since been squandered on the Malacca College; or in pocket-money to pretended converts, who worshiped "Jehovah" while it lasted, and Buddha when it was spent; or, at best, in maintaining the wives and children

[1] *Visit to the Consular Cities of China, on behalf of the Church Missionary Society*, by the Rev. George Smith, M.A., *Preface*, p. iii.

of ignorant, useless, and unprofitable missionaries.[1] Happily the donor is not altogether responsible for this dismal result, and may still count upon his reward. May it be repaid to him a hundredfold; and may the martyrs of China be his friends and advocates!

If it should be found that Mr. Smith, who certainly set out on his long journey with a widely different object, has been constrained to chronicle the triumphs of the Catholic religion, and to disclose the hopeless sterility of his own; if he has been forced to number "the tents of Israel," when he would fain have counted only those of her enemies,—this is a fate from which persons of his class cannot escape, in spite of all their efforts, and which he shares, as the productions of innumerable English travellers will convince us, with a great multitude of his co-religionists, of various orders and sects.

The first statement which we will borrow from

[1] Even Morrison complained of many of his colleagues as "poor and uneducated, much to the disgrace of the Protestant churches." *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 222. "Without recurring again to the humble attainments and inexperience in general of missionaries, we may observe, that having no opportunity of rising into notice at home, they are the more inclined to forsake a country which holds out few hopes to them." *Quarterly Review*, no. xxv. p. 439.

him has reference to the estimate which the Chinese, like other heathen nations, have formed of the English character, from the specimens which they have seen: if they have been unfavourable ones, this is evidently not the fault of the inhabitants of China. "Perhaps this English doctrine," they say, "may be very good, but we wish that you would first try it on the English themselves, for they are wicked men. When this doctrine has made *them* better, then come and speak to us."[1] This is exactly what is said, as we shall see in due time, with a very impressive unanimity, by the subtle Brahmin of Hindostan, the Copt of Egypt and the Arab of Syria, the savage of New Zealand and the nomade tribes of North America; and it is precisely because each of these various classes of men has witnessed the supernatural virtues of the Catholic missionary, that they have used, with respect to *him*, exactly the contrary argument. Proofs of this interesting fact will not be wanting.[2]

[1] *Visit, &c.* p. 54.

[2] The Brahmin, Jaggernaut Chutterjee, said to a Protestant missionary: "Gracious Brama! in what respect is the Christian morally better than the Hindoo? Convert us to Christianity; *make us as sensual as yourselves;* and who shall estimate the effect of such a change on a population of forty millions of people?" *Letter from a Field Officer at Madras on the Conversion*

Mr. Smith, who has an occasional access of sincerity, the remembrance of which must surprise even himself, but which is not uncommon with Protestants in foreign lands, does not scruple to expose the real character of Protestant "converts" in China. Let us hasten to profit by his fragile candour.

The most notable agent of the Protestant missionaries in China appears to have been one Leang Afăh, whose services were secured by the costly device of a *double* salary, but of whom Mr. Smith merely observes, "he is supported by the Church Missionary Society." He seems, however, at a later period, to have been awakened to the true character

of the Hindoos, p. 35. Dr. Claudius Buchanan, writing from Calcutta to a Cambridge friend, says: "The Hindoos pay as little attention to their own religion, as a rule, as the English do to theirs. *Your profession of the Christian religion is a proverbial jest throughout the world.*" Pearson's *Memoirs of Buchanan*, vol. i. p. 183, 3d edition. On the other hand, the Ottawas, in 1829, dismissed the Protestant preacher whom the American Government had sent to them, saying: "Keep your errors for yourselves; our nation does not want missionaries with wives and children, but the *black robes*, like those who visited our grandfathers." *Annales*, tome iv. p. 475. And on another occasion, at Vincennes, the chiefs of another tribe said to the governor of the state: "We do not want *your* ministers; they resemble ourselves, and would be of no use to us;" tome i. p. 33. But we shall return to this subject.

of this expensive system. At Amoy, he says, "the most regular attendants on the services,"—he does not reveal *their* salaries, but he does confess that not one of them had been baptized!—"were, from their situation or employment, *in some measure dependent on the missionaries*, and whose sincerity might on that account be exposed to suspicion."[1] This reflection will no doubt have occurred to Mr. Smith's readers, as well as to himself. But to return to Leang Afăh. This person had a son, A-tah, for whom he contrived to get "an excellent education," and of course a gratuitous one, from the American missionaries. These gentlemen had shrewdly speculated upon the future services of their accomplished pupil, as some equivalent for what he had cost them. But the crafty Chinese was more acute than his masters; and while he allowed them to indulge in harmless anticipations of his gratitude, and the profit which they would derive from it, he had quietly formed his own plans, which, in due time, he carried into execution. "A-tah has recently abandoned the missionaries at Hong-kong," says Mr. Smith, "and connected himself with the mercantile establishment of Powtinqua;" for the duties of which, thanks to his mortified patrons, he was now, no doubt, fully

[1] *Visit, &c.* p. 398.

qualified. "The case of A-tah," Mr. Smith sorrowfully adds, "appears to be a specimen of the difficulty and disappointment to which our missions will, for some years, be necessarily exposed."[1]

At Amoy Mr. Smith seems to have made the acquaintance of a certain Ban-hea, a very interesting specimen of a Protestant unbaptized "convert," and who merits particular notice. Mr. Smith calls him "a constant visitor of the missionaries;" and adds, that he was "an old man, who was formerly inclined to embrace the Roman Catholic religion, *but was deterred by fear of persecution.*"[2] No doubt

[1] *Visit, &c.* p. 52. The Americans might well wish to get some return for their money; for of *one* of their establishments in China we are told, "the annual expenses of the mission are eleven thousand dollars." *Colonial Church Chronicle,* vol. v. p. 396. Seventeen years ago there were already "about one hundred American missionaries in the countries east and west of the Ganges;" and "the American missionaries in China represented no less than six missionary societies, and as many of our larger Christian denominations." *Journal of American Oriental Society,* vol. i. p. 46.

[2] It seems to have been a characteristic malady with the few Chinese who "visited" the Protestant missionaries. Thus Morrison says: "Several of my people would, I doubt not, under other circumstances,"—that is, if there were no danger,—"avow their belief in the Gospel,—but they are afraid." *Memoirs,* vol. ii. p. 369. His own example was hardly likely to give them courage.

a gentleman with Ban-hea's little infirmity of character would find Mr. Smith's friends far safer guides: there was not the remotest probability that *they* would lead him into persecution. This view of their character had not escaped the prudent and cautious Ban-hea, and lent, we may be sure, an additional charm to his intercourse with them. It was quite right to profess some sort of religion, and Confucius was out of date; but to suffer persecution for it, perhaps death, this was an indiscretion peculiar to "Roman Catholics." Mr. Ban-hea, and his new allies, had no sympathy with such imprudent and costly enthusiasm.

It was also at Amoy[1] that our traveller, "in

[1] Although the Protestant missionaries swarmed in this place, it does not appear that any of them could even speak the language; for Mr. Smith tells us of a Chinese who was employed to "read a tract" to his countrymen, "after previous preparation and instruction by a missionary at his own house;" but who unfortunately "sometimes hazarded comments of his own, which were of a rather equivocal tendency;" p. 416. On the other hand, Mr. Smith reveals the very different character of the Catholic Chinese: "The Roman Catholics are numerous in some districts of the neighbouring mainland. The French ambassador and suite, during their recent visit to Amoy, visited a village about forty miles distant, in which nearly the whole population were Roman Catholics;" p. 485. "His excellency afterwards spoke of his heart being kindled with religious enthusiasm, as he beheld

behalf of the Church Missionary Society," saw other "visitors,"—a term which might, perhaps, be adopted with advantage in all these cases, instead of converts,—who had "not yet shown any decided proof of a change of heart." They "had ceased to worship idols," at least they said so, but "they had not generally adopted the decided course of expelling the image from their household," which certainly left a good deal to be desired. And accordingly, when Mr. Smith rashly boasted to a Chinese that one Ta-laou-yay "had put away his idols," the former "called him an old hypocrite, and asserted, that if we could gain admission into the interior of the house, he doubted not that we should find the idols in some other room"![1] The heathen seem to have considered the Protestant missionaries fair game, and perhaps even regretted the credulity which rendered them such an easy prey, because it made such slight

the joyous spectacle of the inhabitants coming forth with crosses and medals hanging on their bosoms. About five hundred persons in this village, and the same number in some neighbouring villages, professed Christianity;" p. 486. And it seems they professed it openly, without fear of "persecution;" for he says they had nearly completed a chapel, "estimated to cost eighteen hundred dollars."

[1] *Visit, &c.* p. 399; cf. p. 412.

demands upon their own ingenuity, and took away half the pleasure of exercising it.

If, however, Mr. Smith had reason to be mortified with the obdurate insensibility of the Chinese to the invitations and caresses of Protestantism, except as an occasion of gainful traffic, he had frequent opportunities of witnessing their appreciation of teaching of a very different order. Wherever he directed his steps, by land or water, he was met by the unwelcome apparition of Catholic converts. He literally encountered them at every turn. Of Shanghai he says: "In the city and neighbourhood there are large numbers of Roman Catholic professors of Christianity. The diocese of their Bishop is computed to contain about *sixty thousand Roman Catholics.*"[1] If he amuses his leisure by inquiries into the system of transporting grain in China, he learns that "of the 6000 junks which annually bring down the grain for the emperor from Tartary, *many are manned by Roman Catholic sailors.*"[2] But the grace

[1] *Visit, &c.* p. 140.

[2] Ibid. p. 141. Monseigneur Comte Louis de Bésy, apostolic administrator of Nankin, says, in 1843: "The fishermen direct their boats hither and thither, wherever they hope to meet a minister of the true God. The simplicity and candour of their souls is reflected in their countenance. They often assemble in the evening, to the number of twenty barks, in the middle of the

of conversion had not been confined to men who, like the first apostles, had passed their lives on the water. At Ningpo, the Catholic converts, he says, "principally belonged to *the middle class of tradesmen.*"[1] And so he continues, obedient to a power of whose influence he was unconscious, but which he was not suffered to resist, his task of recording the triumphs of the Catholic religion. "In the northern part of the province of Fokien," he writes, "at the distance of one hundred miles from Foo-Chow, there is a Popish Bishop, a Spaniard, ninety years of age, who has been fifty years in the country. There is

river, and sing in choir their prayers, which always conclude with an invocation to 'Mary conceived without sin.' Their prayers must ascend as an agreeable incense to the throne of the Lamb. Sometimes, in the midst of the consolations which they afford me, I take shame to myself, when I see how great is the simplicity of their faith, what a profound horror they have of sin, and what purity of motive animates all their actions." *Annals*, vol. v. p. 329.

[1] *Visit, &c.* p. 244. Sir John Davis says, "At Ningpo there are no less than thirteen Protestant missionaries." *China since the Peace*, vol. ii. ch. vii. p. 255. Though these gentlemen had nothing to do, such was the progress of the Catholic religion, even in its social influence, that "the year 1848 witnessed the erection of a church without difficulty in the centre of the town of Ningpo; *the mandarins themselves granted the ground for building.*" *Annals*, vol. xi. p. 15.

also a Popish college; *and the Romish converts are said to be more numerous than the Pagan inhabitants* in some of those districts, so that they are too powerful to become the victims of persecution"![1] They were weak once, Mr. Smith; but apparently this venerable patriarch had used his time to more purpose than your English and American friends.[2]

Sometimes he comes into personal contact with these Catholics, and the result is generally amusing. He is in a boat on the river Min, and the crew, "on their first coming on board, crossed themselves repeatedly on the forehead, cheeks, and breast, after the most approved Roman Catholic fashion."[3] They were "not ashamed of the Cross of Christ," Mr. Smith, and you might have learned a lesson from their simple piety and generous faith. But our tra-

[1] *Visit, &c.* p. 352.

[2] The Abbé Faivre, a Lazarist missionary in China, forcibly observes, that "Protestant missions will not have been altogether without result in these countries; for, in the first place, they will have proved their own utter sterility; and in the second, the Protestant missionaries will be forced to render this testimony, that, wherever they have been, they have seen the Catholic religion established, the faithful full of fervour, and the ranks of the missionaries continually recruited." *Annals*, vol. i. p. 321.

[3] *Visit, &c.* p. 324.

veller went to China, not to learn,—he was beyond that,—but to teach. Meeting "about a hundred villagers, and finding that they were principally *professors of the Roman Catholic religion*,"[1] one of his companions, with the cool assurance of his class whenever there is no danger, informed them, that the Blessed Virgin "was *only* a sinful mortal like ourselves"! upon which, he naïvely adds, "they appeared to be somewhat staggered, and looked in his face, as if incredulous and distrustful." No doubt they were; though they probably knew not that the very Turks themselves have more reverence for the Mother of Jesus than these flippant tourists, whose only function seems to be to try to drag others down to their own level.[2] But these Chinese villagers and

[1] "The padres, we were afterwards told, were accustomed to travel amongst them, and were ever ready to come from any distance to administer the sacraments of the Church, especially Extreme Unction to the dying." *Visit, &c.* p. 147.

[2] For the reverence which the Turks display towards the Mother of our Lord, see D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, art. *Miriam*. There is a celebrated picture of our Lady at Aleppo, of which Bishop Bonamie says: "I was astonished to see a great many Turkish men and women, in seasons of public or private calamity, come to pray before this picture of the Mother of Jesus, and make offerings of oil to be burned in her honour." *Annales*, tome viii. p. 562. Of the rival sect of Mussulmans in Persia, we are told, that "their reverence for the blessed Virgin

sailors were more than a match for Mr. Smith and his party. "I visited a *Corean* junk," he says, "manned by Roman Catholic sailors, and lying in the river off the custom-house." The captain of this junk,—which had crossed the broad waters of the Yellow Sea, not for lucre, but for an object which deserves the careful attention of the reader,—had lost "his own father and grandfather"[1] by martyrdom. But this had not daunted him, nor his noble crew: and Mr. Smith, unable to escape his fate, is obliged to tell us,—that "their only object in making so long and perilous a voyage was, *to obtain a Bishop for Corea*, whom they would carry back in their junk." For months they had been at anchor alongside that custom-house, answering the inquisitive demands of the officials with such pretexts as their ingenuity could devise, and patiently waiting, at the sacrifice of time, and braving the perils of

is not much inferior to the homage of the Church of Rome, the the Russo-Greek Church, and all the Churches of the East. The tall white lily is, in Persian, called the Goole Miriam, or *Flower of Mary*." *Life and Manners in Persia*, by Lady Shiel, ch. vi. p. 87. Even the most trivial and gossiping travellers seem struck with the reverence displayed by the Mahometans towards her whom "all generations," except Protestants, "shall call blessed." See Mrs. Dawson Damer's *Tour in Greece, &c.* vol. i. ch. xxi. p. 288.

[1] *Visit, &c.* p. 154.

discovery, till God should bring their Bishop to them. To these brave fellows Smith, with the characteristic fatuity of his order, gave a number of books, of what sort it is easy to guess; but, within an hour, adds the discomfited Anglican, they came "to return the whole of the books, and to decline the present from me." It is satisfactory to know, still on Mr. Smith's authority, that "they accomplished the object of their visit, and took back a Bishop and three priests. The Bishop came from Hong-kong, and had already been seven years a missionary in one of the interior provinces." To *him* it does not appear that Mr. Smith offered any books.[1]

But he was not yet cured of his mania, though his adventures in this way continued to be discouraging. To a Buddhist priest, he says, "I gave a tract, *which he was unable to read*, and which I received again." He recounts, with real or affected complacency, what he calls their "eagerness" to re-

[1] A Protestant writer notices with surprise that "the number of *adults* baptised in Corea during the year 1838 was little less than two thousand." *Chinese Repository*, vol. viii. p. 574. Some years later there was a Protestant expedition to Corea; but, as usual, the cautious missionaries did not venture to land. "The only result of the mission was to send some chests of Bibles on shore, and some Chinese books to the King of Corea, by whom they were immediately returned." *Annals*, vol. i. p. 321.

ceive books, which the heathen Chinese seem to have often done for the fun of the thing; but he is obliged to add, "I ascertained *that not one of them could read.*" The books must have been extremely useful to them.[1] Again: "I landed on the south bank of the river to distribute tracts, but found none of the villagers able to read. I ascertained, however, that there were some *Roman Catholics* at the distance of a *le* (one-third of an English mile) who were able to read." So he sent them some of his tracts.[2] On another occasion, he gave to a Chinese

[1] *Visit, &c.* p. 234. "Would not Chinese, Indian, or Persian priests draw immense audiences to hear them if they should come in their national costume to preach in French or English? Would they not have plenty of people to receive the books and pamphlets which they gave away for nothing, even though no one could read them?" Ida Pfeiffer, *Voyage round the World*, p. 223, English edition. "The natives will receive tracts or pamphlets with thanks. So they would any other printed paper; for they are polite and inquisitive. I have seen a Hindoo most devoutly listen to a discourse, beg a tract, leave it on the threshold of the door of the temple, and fall down with his forehead on the floor, and worship the image of Ganesa!" *The Wonders of Elora*, by Captain J. B. Seely, ch. xix. p. 474.

[2] A Catholic Chinese from Tze-ke, he says, "had a small medal suspended from his neck, which, in reply to our questions, he plainly said he worshipped;" p. 178. As Mr. Smith's knowledge of Chinese was recent and rudimentary, we may receive this tale with reserve. Did he ever read a Catholic Catechism?

officer, a sort of admiral, "St. Luke's gospel and a tract;" and then he somewhat spitefully adds, "but he appeared to possess very little intellectual capa-

But these gentlemen show more candour to the heathen than to Christians. The learned botanist Sir William Hooker says: "To the idol itself the Boodhist attaches no real importance; . . . it is a *symbol* of the creed, and the adoration is paid to the holy man whom it *represents*." *Himalayan Journals*, vol. i. ch. xiv. p. 324. If a Catholic has an image of our Lady in his house, he is straightway an "idolater." Dr. Asahel Grant says, the Nestorians in Armenia have "a small wooden cross hanging from a post, for them to kiss before prayers; a practice which they regard as a simple expression of love to Christ and faith in His atonement." *The Nestorians*, ch. vi. p. 63. In a Catholic this would be "grovelling superstition." Dr. Kerr, an Anglican chaplain, says, the Jacobites of Malabar use an image of the Blessed Virgin and Child, "which is considered merely as an *ornament*, and not a subject for idolatrous worship." *Report on the State of the Christians of Cochin and Travancore*, p. 5. Yet a Protestant missionary asserts of the *same* image in a *Catholic* church, "The principal object of their reverence was *a female idol* with a child in its arms"! *A Narrative of the Mission to Ceylon*, by the Rev. William Harvard, ch. viii. p. 196. And a grave book tells us of the *Catholic* natives of Dacca, without the least hesitation or misgiving: "Their chapel exhibited many vestiges of *gross idolatry*." Smith's *History of the Missionary Societies*, vol. i. p. 413. And, as if this were not enough, the author adds, with apparent gravity, that the Catholics at Sillet "were in the habit of *worshipping* an old tattered copy of a Popish catechism"! p. 458. This gentleman has certainly the distinction of surpassing, *longo intervallo*, most of his fellows. Another insists that the Hindoos them-

city, being a very unfavourable specimen of a Chinese officer." Why should this poor old admiral be so discourteously abused for not appreciating "the Dairyman's Daughter," or "the Pious Baker," or whatever it was which Mr. Smith presented to his "intellectual capacity"? A "general" in the same place,—for Mr. Smith seems to have got into good company,—was so puzzled with the whole proceeding, which was quite out of the line of his previous experience, that he spontaneously remarked, "that he had never seen any Roman Catholic *books*, though that religious sect had been a long time in the country."[1] On the other hand, the worthy general had seen no small number of Roman Catholic *converts*, which was a good deal more to the purpose.

We have nearly done with Mr. Smith, but not

selves do not worship "idols," but "only numerous *symbols* of the Almighty's power, &c." *The Wonders of Elora*, ch. xiv. p. 347. And he quotes the Vedas to prove it. Unfortunately, Rammohun Roy scouts this charitable interpretation. *Henrion*, tome i. ch. iv. p. 43. These contrasts are instructive. They show that even educated Protestants, though eager to defend heathens or heretics, forget not only justice but common sense in dealing with Catholics; towards whom they seem to feel exactly as the pagans did towards the primitive Christians, ever uttering maledictions, and crying out, in imitation of Tacitus, with mingled anger and fear, *exitialis superstitio!*

[1] *Visit, &c.* p. 422.

quite. He has no love, as we have seen, for Catholics; but then he has a considerable leaning, he tells us, towards Mahometans! "I always *felt a sympathy* with the *poor dispersed disciples of Islam* in this pagan wild, and regarded their denunciation of idols, and their worship of one God, as a comparative approximation to *our own religion*;"[1]—the comparison being with the Catholic religion!

Here, then, is a clergyman of the Church of England, the recognised agent and official emissary of the "Church Missionary Society," an institution fostered by Anglican "bishops," who deliberately prefers the impure followers of a lascivious and blasphemous impostor to the brethren of St. Bernard and St. Francis of Sales. He confesses it! Surely nothing worse than this was ever uttered since the hour when voices were heard to say, *Not this Man, but Barabbas!*

We have only one more anecdote to borrow from Mr. Smith, and then the tale will be complete. Finding his journeys along the coast a little monotonous, and accustomed now to see Chinese faces, he gathers courage, and boldly determines on a little "trip into the interior." It is true that what he pleasantly calls going to the "interior," was sim-

[1] *Visit, &c.* p. 213.

ply an excursion of a few miles in a boat, on a river not unknown to Europeans, and that it required about as much temerity as a Frenchman would display who should venture in a steamer from London Bridge to Chelsea or Richmond. Of course the object of the journey was to gratify his ruling passion of distributing tracts. The expedition starts, not without a quickening of the pulse at the possible perils of the voyage. Both shores are carefully scanned, and the rowers duly prepared for a backward move in case of sudden emergencies. Mr. Smith directs his anxious glance on every side, book in hand, when at length an object strikes his eye. "Watching my opportunity," he says,—and we almost partake his breathless emotion,—"I folded up the book, and . . . . threw it safely *on the dry bank!*"[1] This daring feat accomplished, the bold missionary and his companions,—*Milvius et scurræ*, —smiling perhaps at their own courage, continued their adventurous voyage; that is, they hurried back to their snug quarters in the neighbouring town.

The whole story, and especially the careful discrimination of dry and humid soils, sounds more like a geological than a missionary exploit; but this was Mr. Smith's idea of the way to convert China, and

[1] *Visit, &c.* p. 148.

he had a right to his own view of the subject. One thing only I will venture to suggest, that one cannot even imagine St. Paul or St. Barnabas punting about the shores of the Ægean or the Adriatic, looking for "dry banks" on which to deposit their message to the heathen. *They* delivered it themselves, heeding neither stripes, nor imprisonment, nor death ; a mode of preaching the gospel which Catholics have always imitated, and which, we may assure Mr. Smith and his friends, has its merits.[1]

[1] It is admitted on all hands that the books and tracts so profusely distributed are always either returned, or applied to the vilest uses. Even in Beechey's time, "several that were secretly taken on shore by the lower orders were brought back the next day." *Voyage to the Pacific*, vol. ii. ch. v. p. 197. But experience, and the repeated protests of intelligent Protestants, appear to have produced some effect. "The Methodist ministers," says a celebrated traveller, "who remain in ambuscade in the five ports open to European commerce, having perceived that the prodigious quantities of Bibles which they scattered furtively along the coast did not prove very efficacious in acting upon the population of China, have renounced this system of propaganda, which was indeed exempt from all danger, but was also utterly unmeaning and perfectly useless. They seem to be convinced, for the moment at least, that a bale of Bibles, more or less accurately printed, and deposited with extreme precautions on the sea-shore, are not very likely to effect the conversion of the Chinese empire. They have consequently lost somewhat of the vivacity of their faith in the miracles to be accomplished by

Mr. Smith takes leave of the readers of his book, —which only wants a little talent, a little information, a little taste, and a little charity, to make it almost interesting,—with these words: "The missionary work in China is *not devoid of encouragement.*" And we, in our turn, may take leave of him, under the impression which such an opinion excites; that, with all his faults, he is at least of a cheerful and sanguine disposition.[1]

the mere distribution of books." He goes on to say, that they have therefore commenced, with the help of some salaried Chinese *literates*, the composition of treatises on scientific subjects; and one which fell into the hands of the Abbé Huc proved to be "a technical work upon electric telegraphs." This brave missionary, who has traversed China in every direction, adds; "I am convinced that, in the whole empire, there is not one Chinese capable of understanding a single page of this book;" of which this competent judge describes even the composition as "a jargon which the inhabitants of the Celestial Empire will not be in a hurry to imitate." *L'Empire Chinois*, tome ii. ch. x. pp. 431, 432.

[1] It should be added, that what was only a safe amusement to Mr. Smith and his companions was sometimes the occasion of grave results to a different class of missionaries. "It is only a few years ago," says the American Commodore Read, "since our Protestant friends provoked an edict from the emperor against the introduction of all foreign publications, by their too rapid and open distribution of *twenty thousand* Bibles and tracts along the coast of Fokien." *Around the World*, vol. ii. p. 231. In

The testimony which has now been offered, by the most competent witnesses, to the character of Protestant efforts in China might be largely increased; but surely enough has been said. There is not perhaps a single Protestant writer on China, whether English or American, who has not furnished, with more or less candour and emphasis, precisely the same evidence; for it is a common dispensation of Divine Providence which compels even the most unscrupulous enemies of the Church to bear witness in her favour. "The activity of the missionaries of the Romish Church in China," says Sir John Davis, in spite of his lamentable prejudices, "*has no rival*, as to either numbers or enterprise."[1] "Ecclesiastical history," says Mr. Ellis, "preserves the record of their perseverance and their triumph."[2] "The Protestants," says Mr. Leitch Ritchie, after they had been

1836, "an emissary of the Bible Society had been scattering Bibles right and left on the banks of the Canton river. The Chinese government has taken alarm at this imprudent distribution; and we have reason to fear *lest the Catholic missionaries should suffer persecution* on account of the inconsiderate act of the Protestant emissary." *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, tome ix. p. 464. Perhaps this would only give fresh zest to the pastime of the Protestant missionaries.

[1] *China*, vol. ii. ch. vii. p. 235.

[2] *Brief Notice of China and Siam*, p. 53.

thirty years at work, "have as yet confined their efforts to the distribution of books along the sea-coast, the result not being in the mean time of any obvious importance."[1] The Rev. Mr. Williams, an American missionary in China, says, with still greater emphasis: "We have had no proofs that the thousands of books thrown among this people have excited *one* mind to inquire concerning them, have induced *one* soul to find a teacher among the foreigners in China, or have been the means of converting *one* individual."[2] "Perhaps there are not more than twenty or thirty Christian Protestant Chinese," says Mr. Montgomery Martin, "while Catholicism numbers its tens and hundreds of thousands."[3] "The labours of the Church of Rome," says Dr. Bogue, the founder of the London Missionary Society, "have been far more abundant than those of all other sects whatever."[4] "There is something inexplicable in the

[1] *The British World in the East*, vol. ii. p. 230.

[2] Quoted by Dr. Brown, *History of the Propagation of Christianity among the Heathen*, vol. ii. p. 256.

[3] *China, Political, Commercial, and Social*, vol. ii. p. 491.

[4] *An earnest Appeal to Pedobaptist Christians;* quoted in *The Fathers of the London Missionary Society*, by John Morison, D.D., vol. i. p. 209. A writer of the same class, the famous Richard Baxter, wrote to Eliot, "The industry of the Jesuits and their successes in Congo, Japan, China, &c, shame us all,

sterility of the Protestant missions," says the Rev. Howard Malcolm, who was sent expressly to visit them; "for the Catholic missionaries, with very limited resources, have made a great many proselytes; their worship has become popular, and every where excites the attention of the public."[1] "Although the Protestant missionaries," writes the American Commodore Wilkes, with the frankness which so honourably distinguishes his countrymen, "have not met with any success in propagating their tenets, this cannot be said of the Catholics."[2] "I will not say," observes Mr. Wingrove Cooke, the most recent authority, "that the Protestant missionaries are making sincere Chinese Christians,—those who say this must be either governed by a delusion, or *guilty of fraud*."[3] And lastly, Dr. Grant declares, before the University of Oxford: "The attempts of Protestant bodies to evangelise China, and the neighbouring kingdoms, *have signally failed*."[4]

save you." *Library of American Biography*, by Jared Sparks, vol. v. ch. xvii. p. 337.

[1] Quoted in *Boston Courier*, 30th May 1839.

[2] *United States Exploring Expedition*, vol. v. p. 396.

[3] *China*, ch. xi. p. 181.

[4] *Bampton Lectures for* 1843, Lecture vi. p. 214. Another American writer, Mr. Osmund Tiffany, says, that although his friends had been then at work for nearly forty years, he thinks

Let us turn, then, from these mere human efforts, —vain, foolish, and unprofitable ; costly, yet without fruit ; boastful and arrogant, yet leading to nothing ; and regarded with derision or disgust by their own authors,—and contemplate once more the same work effected, not by earthly power nor by human agents, but by the might of God and the strength of His omnipotent grace. We shall see that *during the whole period* in which the crowd of false prophets, —without vocation or mission, without a creed and without sacraments, but with unlimited funds and constantly augmented numbers,—were only cover-

it superfluous "to say aught of missionary labours, simply because they have little or no importance." *The Canton Chinese*, ch. x. p. 181. The truth is, that no man, whether English or American, who has actually visited China, has ever formed or expressed any other opinion. An illustrious missionary, Monseigneur Comte Louis de Bésy, said lately ; "The English themselves do us justice, and offer to protect us. Last year, Mr. Robertson, second interpreter to the British plenipotentiary in China, wrote to me a letter to that effect, from which I transcribe literally the following words : 'As for me, sir, I want expressions to tell you how much I am delighted to have made your acquaintance. It is true, I was born a Protestant ; yet I cannot refrain from admiring the heroism, the devotedness, and the superiority of the Catholic missionaries in China. Yes, it is a proof that your religion does not consist in vain words, but that it proceeds from the depths of the heart.'" *Annals*, vol. v. p. 328.

ing themselves with ignominy and confusion; the missionaries of the Most High God, strong by His blessing, though weak in all human resources, were leading their tens of thousands, through fire and blood, through torments and death, to the foot of the eternal throne.[1]

Let us begin our examination of the noble and inspiring pages to which, after lingering so long over the annals of folly and corruption, we are now again to refer, by citing the heathen themselves as witnesses to the character of the work which the Catholic apostles wrought amongst them. Their testimony has at least the merit of perfect sincerity.

In 1805, Kia-King, a furious persecutor, declared in an imperial edict against the Christians, "All who become Christians, whether rich or poor, directly

[1] Even Gutzlaff admits, though apparently with regret, that the most cruel and long-continued persecutions, and especially the savage proceedings of Kia-King, who died in 1821, "could not extirpate a sect which had so many ramifications, and had taken root in the very heart of the empire." *China Opened*, vol. i. ch. xi. p. 365. An abler antagonist observes, that even "the revolution did not destroy Rome; because Rome has not foundations but *roots*, which ramify under all nations, and penetrate every quarter of the globe, even China and Japan, at the other extremity of the world." Victor Hugo, *Excursions along the Banks of the Rhine*, Letter xxiv.

they embrace this religion, have such an affection for one another, *that they seem to be of one bone and one flesh.*" They were then of that class of converts of whom the pagans were wont to say, in the first ages, "See how these Christians love one another!"[1]

Again, the learned Sir George Staunton informs us, that, in the same year, several persons were condemned to punishment and slavery for becoming Christians; and especially one, an Italian missionary, "because he has not only," says the decree, "worked on the minds of the simple peasantry and women, but *even many of our Tartar subjects* have been persuaded to believe and conform to his religion; and it appears that no less than thirty-one books upon the European religion have been printed in Chinese characters."[2] And as they thus admitted,

[1] *Annales*, tome i. p. 153.

[2] *Laws of China*, Appendix, p. 533. In 1826, a petition was presented by the mandarins to the king of Cochin China, praying him to adopt new measures "to prohibit this perverse religion," on these grounds: "Since this religion has penetrated into the kingdom, thousands of persons profess it in all our provinces; and they who are imbued with this doctrine are animated with a zeal which transports them out of themselves, and makes them run about hither and thither like madmen. The followers of this law multiply every day; they are continually building new churches; their abominations are diffused in every direc-

most unwillingly, the constantly increasing *numbers*[1] of the Christians, so they freely confessed their *virtues* and *graces*. "The Christian religion," said a mandarin of the district of Te-yang, speaking from his tribunal, "is difficult and austere, and obliges men to great sacrifices;"—he might well say it, for he was at that moment judging Christians,—"yet if all men could agree to embrace this religion, and to follow its laws and precepts, certainly we should have no need of watch-dogs to guard our houses, or to frighten away robbers; it would not even be necessary to shut our doors during the night as a precaution against evil men, *because all men would then be upright and conscientious.*"[2]

And now that we have heard what the heathen said of the Christians, let us see what they say for themselves, and how they endured the pitiless storms of persecution which never ceased to rage, from the beginning of this century to the present hour.

tion; and there is no place which is not infected by them." *Annales*, tome iii. p. 469. It is just the language of the Pagans about the early Christians!

[1] "Christianity makes great progress in Tong-king. In June 1821, a whole district sent deputies to ask to be instructed in the Christian faith." *Asiatic Journal*, vol. xvii. p. 298.

[2] *Nouvelles Lettres édifiantes*, tome ii. p. 488.

On the 14th of September 1815, the illustrious Bishop, Monseigneur Dufresse, after an apostolate of *thirty-nine years*, the whole of which was one long martyrdom, was led to execution, attended by a noble band of thirty-two Chinese confessors. But as these Christian heroes were ever more ready to suffer than the busy world to read with patience of their sufferings, let it suffice to say, that when the saintly Pius VII. read the account of this holocaust of martyrs, he exclaimed, "We seem to be reading a passage from the annals of the primitive Church."[1] Throughout the years 1814 and 1815, and again in 1817 and 1818, Chinese priests and laymen were continually martyred, and died as St. Polycarp or St. Blandina died, calm, constant, and exulting.[2] In the

[1] Mr. Montgomery Martin says, with unusual generosity, of Monseigneur Dufresse: "During the administration of this true apostle of Christian doctrine there were frequently fifteen hundred adult baptisms annually." *China, &c.* vol. ii. p. 485.

[2] When Paul Tuy, one of these native priests, was told that he was condemned to death, "he contented himself with asking, with perfect composure, if it was really true; and when assured that nothing was more certain, he calmly replied, 'I should never have ventured to hope for so signal a grace.'" *Annales*, tome vii. p. 421. Many were at this time exiled to the wastes of Tartary; and when, in 1823, after many years of suffering, pardon was offered to all who would renounce the Christian religion, only five accepted the offer, which more than two hundred

latter year, a girl of twenty, when brought before the tribunal, was asked by the mandarin : " How can you worship a God whom you do not see ?" With ready wit she answered, " You yourself honour the emperor almost like a god, yet you do not see him ;" a reply which excited the admiration of the pagan, and appears to have saved her life.[1]

But wit and presence of mind were not always sufficient barriers against the headlong current of persecution. In 1816, Father John de Triora, a Franciscan, was strangled on the 13th of February. Four native Chinese priests were also strangled in succession ; and a fifth died in prison of his tortures, as well as twenty laymen, all in the one province of Su-tchuen.[2] Yet a single priest, Father Masson,

stedfastly refused. On another occasion, out of a band who had endured the torture of the *cangue* for *ten years*, only one accepted the same condition, though more than half of the original number had died under the suffering.

[1] She was a servant of Him who had said, " Lay it up in your hearts not to meditate beforehand how you shall answer. For I will give you a mouth and wisdom which all your adversaries shall not be able to resist or gainsay." St. Luke xxi. 14, 15.

[2] An aged Chinese, himself a confessor, seeing his son cruelly beaten, nobly exhorted him to accept the grace of martyrdom: " Let them scourge you, my son ; if they kill you, heaven will presently be yours." *Annales*, tome iv. p. 416. Father Charrier

could report, that in one year, in his own mission, he had baptized *one thousand and six adults*, and given *seventy-nine thousand* communions: and the same work was going on throughout the whole empire, at the same moment.[1]

Thus, in the year 1820, in Tong-king and Cochin-China alone there were 15,734 baptisms; while in the single province of Western Tong-king, in 1822, there were between eight and nine thousand:[2] and what sort of converts they were, is sufficiently proved by the fact, that they had the courage to embrace Christianity at all, at such a time, and with such prospects. It is true that not all continued stedfast when the storm burst upon them, and no marvel. In the persecution of 1821, in the province of Sutchuen, always the most successful field of missionary warfare, "Some of our Christians," we are told, "had

tells of an old man, more than eighty, who, being seized and desired to recant, made this answer before the tribunal: "Before I renounce my God to adore yours, I must see that they are better than mine. At my age one should not do things lightly. In the first place, then, what are your gods? pieces of wood without life. If I cut down a tree in my field, I can, in the course of a single day, make a dozen of them." Ibid. p. 482. He was released.

[1] *Annales*, tome iii. p. 443.

[2] Ibid. tome i. p. 9.

the cowardice to apostatise; but the great majority have preferred to endure every kind of evil treatment rather than renounce the faith."[1] In Tong-king, where the condition of the converts was perhaps more insupportable than in any other part of the empire, religion continued to make such progress, that, by 1825, there were *eighty-three native priests*, and two hundred thousand Christians. And in Su-tchuen, though incessantly scourged and afflicted, there were nearly two thousand adult converts in the single year 1824; and twenty-seven boys' and forty-five girls' schools had been established in the pro-

[1] Father Masson records that some who fell away for a moment, when they came to implore reconciliation, pleaded the example of St. Peter, whom our Lord pardoned in spite of his fall! It is worthy of observation that the heathen Chinese seem almost always to have manifested contempt for the apostates. Monseigneur Fontana relates that the Viceroy of Su-tchuen, a relation of the emperor, having threatened some recent converts with death, they answered with one accord, "We will willingly suffer death for our religion;" upon which, rising up from his seat, and pointing them out with his finger to the mandarins, he said, "These are indeed true Christians, they profess truly the religion of the Lord of Heaven." Then turning to the mandarin who had arrested them, he continued, "Why have you brought me these men, who are guilty of no other crime but the desire of dying for their religion?" *Annales*, tome x. p. 250. In spite of these fine words, they were all banished for life to the deserts of Tartary.

vince. In the following year the latter had increased to sixty-two ; and there were nearly eleven thousand baptisms.[1]

Meanwhile, what may we suppose was the *daily condition* of the bishops, clergy, and faithful, even when they contrived to escape, for a time, torture and death ? This question deserves a reply, and shall have one.

Monseigneur Fontana, Confessor, Bishop of Maxula, and Vicar-Apostolic of Su-tchuen, was in such hopeless poverty, that he could not even afford to buy the necessary vestments for his clergy, who were obliged to celebrate the Divine Mysteries in such robes as were never seen in Europe ; while their venerable prelate, we are told, "had scarcely any thing decent for his own use."[2] In 1824, his brother

[1] *Annales,* t. x. p. 261. The son of Gia-long, king of Cochin China, and predecessor of Minh-Mênh, was "a decided convert to the Christian religion, and accompanied the Bishop of Adran to France in 1787." Crawfurd's *Embassy to Siam and Cochin China,* ch. xviii. p. 509. And a French traveller tells us, that the mausoleum "which Gia-long built in honour of the Bishop of Adran still forms the most curious monument in the city of Hue-Fou." *Voyage de la Favorite,* tome ii. p. 318.

[2] Ibid. tome ii. p. 31. And the Bishops in the far West were no better provided than their noble-hearted brethren in the East. Monseigneur Portier, Vicar-Apostolic of the Floridas, writes from New Orleans in 1826 to a friend in France, that he possessed

bishop, in exile at Pulo Penang, was "obliged to sell his pocket handkerchiefs and other little effects," to obtain food![1] The common nourishment of the

neither mitre, nor pectoral cross, nor indeed any thing to indicate his office. "If you can buy these things for me without money," he adds playfully, "it will be an excellent method, and very much to my taste. I know, however, that it is not of easy application, so I only throw out the suggestion." When a new missionary arrived in Cochin China, and presented himself to the Bishop, he would exclaim, "Oh, my lord, the fowls in France are better lodged than you." In this, at least, they resemble their Master.

[1] When Father Gleyo, another of these heroes, came out of prison, after eight years of close bondage, he started immediately, as if he had suffered nothing, to evangelise "a part of the country hitherto unknown," possessing not a farthing, and his whole baggage consisting of "a single shirt, a pair of drawers, and a pair of stockings." *Lettres édifiantes*, tome xxvi. p. 407. Father Dollières, who had received no tidings from home for twenty years, in one letter heard of the death of all his relations; p. 487. Father Masson, writing from Tong-king to the mayor of Lunéville, says, "I possess nothing beyond the circumference of my own body, yet it seems to me that I am as happy as it is possible to be in this world." Yet he had literally not even that small measure of "food and raiment" with which the great Apostle exhorts us "to be content." Monseigneur Florens, Bishop of Sozopolis, sold his handkerchiefs to buy rice for the poor Chinese. He died, venerated even by the heathen for his gentleness and charity, after an apostolate of forty-seven years. His successor found amongst his effects a hair shirt and two disciplines. This was all his wealth.

missionaries, when they could get it, seems to have been vegetables boiled in water, and a sort of cheese made of beans. Multitudes of Christians, driven from their houses, died of starvation. "They receive the Sacrament of Extreme Unction," writes one who shared their sufferings, "when they have nothing more left to eat, and then calmly await the arrival of death. I have sometimes given Extreme Unction to five or six at a time. I cannot yet habituate myself to this terrible and heart-rending spectacle."[1] About the same time, Monseigneur Tabert, Vicar-Apostolic of Cochin China, to whose predecessor the good King Louis XVI. had given some vestments, writing just as a fresh burst of persecution, in which he had suffered, had died away, says pleasantly: "They were old and worn out, but they were the best I had, and I kept them for the greatest solemnities. Now, I have lost every thing. I have only two poor chasubles, of which one is in strips, and the other patched with linen. What a Bishop!"[2]

[1] *Annales*, tome ix. p. 61.

[2] Ibid. tome vii. p. 535. "And the holy Bishop who traces this sketch for us, from the depths of a cavern lighted by a wretched lamp, and hunted by police commissioned to arrest him for capital punishment, adds, 'I have left the cleft of the rock in which I was stationed; this is the sixth cavern which, within a

But all this was only a matter of jest to these noble-hearted apostles: sometimes, however, they had trials not quite so easy to bear, though still short of martyrdom.[1]

In 1834, the Abbé Retord, now Bishop, received a letter from one of his colleagues, who thus described his actual position. "I am concealed in a hole, four feet and a half in width and nine in length, inaccessible to any ray of light. The silence is broken only by the hum of the musquitoes, and the gambols of the rats, who show no respect for my presence. For thirty-four hours my abode was surrounded by seventy soldiers, and for eighteen I remained without motion. I confess that at the beginning such a life appeared to me tedious."[2]

few months, has served as an asylum to me in my seventy-fifth year.'" *Annals*, vol. x. p. 9.

[1] It should be remembered, since we are tracing a *Contrast*, that all this time the English and American missionaries were disporting themselves with their "objects of tender esteem," drawing their salaries quarterly, and acting their ignoble comedies at Macao, Canton, or Amoy.

[2] *Annales*, tome vii. p. 497. The Abbé Marette, who was hunted in the same manner, says: "I was not without apprehension, you may suppose, crouched between two walls; I recommended myself to all the saints, and in particular to my companion so lately martyred, *whose clothes, covered with his blood, I had with me in my hiding-place.*" *Annals*, vol. i. p. 120.

Perhaps it may occur to some that all this was hard to bear, and that mortal men might well have fainted under the burden of so great tribulations. The thought would be injurious to these elect souls, fortified by supernatural aids; but still more injurious to their Divine Master, who knew how to sustain His own, and to feed them with ineffable consolations. Father Masson, one of the bravest and meekest of this apostolic company, being asked by a friend in Europe, who had thoughts of entering the Chinese mission, what special difficulties and spiritual trials he might expect to encounter, gave this sublime and memorable answer: "As respects the peculiar temptations and spiritual troubles to which one is most exposed in this manner of life, it is happily impossible for me to give you any information on this point; since I have always found myself in a state of joy, and have observed the same thing in all my colleagues."[1] In listening to these men,—if indeed they were not rather angels,—one seems to hear

[1] *Annales*, t. iii. p. 441. "You wish to know," writes another, "what troubles I endure. I have none. Or, rather, I often experience the sweetest consolations in seeing the great number of conversions which, through God's grace, are daily wrought under my eyes. Last year we baptized more than twelve hundred adults. Praise be to Jesus!" Ibid. vol. vii. p. 65.

echoes from Paradise; and so in truth, with much more reason, did they. "If our churches," says the Bishop of Isauropolis, in 1830, "are only covered with thatch, they receive nevertheless the visits of heavenly spirits." He then alludes to choirs of angels being heard, when no one could be seen, and adds, "but I cannot venture to speak of these things, for the temper of men's minds in France would not endure them."[1]

And now, in the year 1833, we come to another of those glorious events of which the history of the Church in China is so full,—the martyrdom of the Abbé François Isidore Gagelin, one of those illustrious priests of whom "the eldest daughter of the Church" counts so many, as if to atone for the faults of her other children. For the whole narrative we are indebted to the Abbé de la Motte, who was almost an eye-witness of every detail which he recounts.

[1] *Annales*, tome v. p. 391. Frequent miracles, as might be expected, marked the course of the Catholic apostolate in China. Many are recorded, or referred to, in the *Annales*, and the *Lettres édifiantes;* but the greatest miracle of all was the supernatural sanctity of the apostles themselves, and the enduring constancy of their noble flock. One of the missionaries, who was himself condemned to death, but delivered, records, amongst other miracles, the raising a dead man to life. *Divers Voyages de la Chine*, ch. xxii. p. 149.

The Abbé Gagelin had been long in prison, as well as his colleagues, Father Jaccard, also a Frenchman, and Father Odorico. They were in separate dungeons; but from the 23d of August to the 11th of October, the two latter, by the connivance of their guards, had been allowed to visit him twice a week. On the 12th of that month Father Jaccard writes to his brother in bonds,—for they were still able to communicate by letter, so that we shall now assist, as it were, at the closing scene, and watch the martyr through the last hours of his fiery conflict,—that he had that morning offered the Holy Sacrifice *pro in carcere constituto*, and supplicated God to give him patience and resignation. Later in the day, in another note, he says, "I think I ought to tell you, happy brother, that you are condemned to death." The next morning the martyr replies, "I recommend myself to your prayers and those of Father Odorico, as well as of M. de la Motte:" but, still doubtful if martyrdom was indeed to be his lot, he modestly urges that perhaps he will only be exiled. The letters continue to pass to and fro;[1] and towards the close of the day Father Jaccard, who had received

[1] Even a Protestant writer says of this correspondence: "It is worthy of a man who had lived well, and was about to die well." *Chinese Repository*, vol. viii. p. 609.

certain information, tells him, "Your sentence is pronounced irrevocably, and so, behold you a martyr! What happiness is yours!" And now, all doubt being definitively removed, Father Gagelin replies as follows: "Sir, and dearest colleague; the intelligence which you announce to me, that I am irrevocably sentenced to death, fills my inmost heart with joy. *Lætatus sum in his quæ dicta sunt mihi: In domum Domini ibimus.* The grace of martyrdom, of which I am most unworthy, has been from my earliest childhood the object of my most ardent desire. *I have specially solicited it every time I elevated the Precious Blood in the holy sacrifice of the Mass.* In a little while, then, I am going to appear before my Judge; to render Him an account of my offences, of the good which I have omitted to do, and even of that which I have done." After some simple and touching reflections, and a few words of farewell addressed to his family and friends in France, he continues: "The sight of my good Jesus crucified consoles me in any bitterness which may accompany my death; my whole ambition is to depart quickly from this body of sin, to be united to Jesus Christ in a blessed eternity. *Cupio dissolvi et esse cum Christo.* I have only one more consolation to desire, that of seeing you and Father Odorico for the last time." But this was to be de-

nied him. On the 15th, Father Jaccard writes to him, as to one already sealed for heaven: "Sir, and venerated colleague; we have read your letter with the utmost joy; we can only render thanks to our Lord, who has given you so much courage. Father Odorico wept for joy over your letter. . . . . Adieu, dear martyr of Jesus Christ. Pray for me." The same day the martyr replies: "My condemnation produces no impression upon me except that of perfect contentment. I slept last night as tranquilly as usual, and ate with the same good appetite; only the *cangue*, which weighs down my shoulders, fatigues me more and more, and I have difficulty even in remaining seated. . . . . Recommend me to the prayers of all pious souls." On the 16th, Father Jaccard, after telling him that there is no hope of their obtaining permission to visit him, adds, "Father Odorico and myself cease not to speak of your happiness. He is radiant with joy, and would fain share your lot. As for myself, miserable sinner, I often know not what I am doing, and can hardly sleep. I confess to you that I should be almost sorry if the king released you, now that you are so near the moment which will give you the palm of martyrdom, and admission into heaven. Pardon me, dear brother, all the scandals which I have caused you, and

all the uneasiness which I may at any time have occasioned you."

On the 17th, at seven in the morning, he was led out of prison by a band of soldiers, two mandarins riding in the rear of the procession. The pagan crowd, filled with admiration at his patient composure, exclaimed, "Why should an innocent and worthy man like this be put to death? who ever saw any one go to death with so little emotion?" Shortly after, the martyr had won his crown.[1]

But he did not die alone.[2] While living he had

[1] *Vie de M. l'Abbé Gagelin, Missionnaire apostolique et Martyr,* par l'Abbé Jacquenet (Paris, 1850). His relics are deposited in the *Salle des Martyrs,* at the Seminary of Foreign Missions, in Paris. The reliquary in which they are contained was sealed by the hand of Monseigneur Affre, the "martyr of charity." He was declared "Venerable" by Gregory XVI. in 1840; ch. xii. p. 458.

[2] Fathers Jaccard and Odorico were both sent into exile, with secret orders to the mandarins to starve them to death. The injunction was disobeyed. The latter died in prison in 1834. On the 21st of September 1838, after protracted sufferings, which he endured with apostolic fortitude, Father Jaccard received the crown of martyrdom. Ten bamboos were broken by the executioners over his body; but "though each stroke made the blood flow, this intrepid soldier of Jesus Christ did not utter a sigh, nor allow a single cry to escape his lips." The Bishop of Annecy relates,—*Annals,* vol. i. p. 397,—that when Madame Jaccard, his mother, heard of his martyrdom, "she uttered a cry of joy, and

not laboured in vain, and the spiritual children whom he had begotten to God proved worthy of their apostle and guide. Many accompanied him in that last dread journey, whose death was perhaps as admirable as his own. Some were beaten till the flesh fell in pieces from them, yet they faltered not. Paul Döi-Buong being dragged to execution, and embarrassed by his chains, said smilingly, "Let us go a little slower; I know the way, and there is no danger of our losing it." His friend Michael Kenou was thus addressed on the following day by the king himself: "You have seen Buong's head cut off; well, have you learned to fear a little? If you are ready to renounce your religion, speak." The answer was heroic, but calm and sober, as becomes a martyr. "Certainly, we all fear your power much; but as to abandoning my religion, that I can never do. If you release me, well; if you order my head to be cut off, I shall suffer it cheer-

burst into a flood of tears, exclaiming, 'Thanks to the Almighty! I am freed from the dread which I felt, in spite of myself, lest he should be overcome by his sufferings.'" Thomas Tien, a Chinese youth of eighteen, died with him. "Upon arriving near the inn where it was usual for criminals on their way to execution to take some refreshment, the young Thomas, turning to Father Jaccard, said gaily, 'Will you take any refreshment, father?' 'No, my child,' replied M. Jaccard, smiling. 'Nor I either,' added Thomas: 'to heaven, then, my father!'" Ibid. vol. i. p. 284.

fully."[1] The spirit of Ricci and Verbiest was still alive in the Christians of China, after the lapse of two centuries of trial and suffering.

Thaddeus, a son of this Michael Kenou, wrote thus from prison to his parents, of whose fate he was ignorant: "I salute my father and my mother. I beg them to remember the example of Jesus Christ, who suffered for us; to call to mind also that the Holy Virgin, His blessed Mother, had her soul pierced with a sword of grief; yet it was necessary that she should conform to the will of God the Father. I beg my father and mother to remember and meditate upon these examples, lest they should give way to sorrow, should be impatient and afflicted on my account, and thus render themselves guilty in the sight of God, not accepting His holy will. It grieves me that you should be witnesses of my sufferings; but I beseech you to render thanks to God who gives me strength to support all these torments."[2] Surely these saints,—and there were many of them,—were a worthy escort to the martyr on his passage to the heavenly kingdom.

Monseigneur Taberd, Vicar-Apostolic of Cochin China, in his account of this awful persecution, says:

[1] *Annales*, tome vii. p. 529.

[2] Ibid. p. 532.

"Eighty thousand Christians are flying hither and thither in the deepest distress, and often destitute of every thing; so that a native priest writing to me observes, 'Our Christians will die of hunger before they have time to die for their religion.' Nearly four hundred churches, the creation of their labours and alms,"—for they offered their substance to God first, and their lives afterwards,—"are utterly destroyed." As the Association for the Propagation of the Faith had collected this year 16,000*l.*, which they thought an enormous sum, they sent the poor Bishop 520*l.*, which would not go far towards rebuilding 400 churches, and feeding 80,000 Christians.[1] But the storm which the powers of darkness had raised did not quench the faith of this persecuted flock, whose numbers actually augmented, by fresh conversions, during its very crisis. "Forests, caves, and rugged mountains, these are at present," writes the Bishop, "the asylum of our missionaries; prisons or exile that of our neophytes." The trials of the primitive Church were renewed amongst them; what marvel if God enriched them with the same gifts and graces which He had poured out with a liberal hand on the Christians of that epoch?[2]

[1] *Annales*, tome vii. p. 570.

[2] The Vicar-Apostolic wrote as follows, in 1835, from Pulo-

It would be only too easy to fill a volume with the acts of the demoniacal Minh-Mênh, the Nero of Cochin China; one only shall be added, not so much for the sake of illustrating the furious malice of the persecutor, as the invincible fortitude of his victims. The narrative with which I am about to terminate this meagre record of a few of the martyrs of China, each of whom displayed a nobler courage than a thousand vulgar heroes of the battle-field, is perhaps without parallel even in the annals of that goodly company. It is in the gardens of the golden palace of the Roman butcher, in the bloody lists of the Coliseum, or in the amphitheatres of Smyrna and Antioch, that we must look for cruelty so hellish endured with valour so incomparable.

The Abbé Marchand, a French priest of the diocese of Besançon, quitted his country in 1829 for

Penang, where he was in exile: "The miserable condition of Cochin China, and the uncertainty of my ever seeing M. Jaccard again, have made me resolve to go to Syncapore, to consecrate M. Cuenot. I shall start in three days. I have prepared a poor wooden crozier, which I will have painted yellow if it cannot be gilt. I have an old white mitre to put on his head. In a word, I will do all I can to provide for this consecration. I hope, however, to succeed: it would be too bad of him to send me back after such a painful journey in vain." Three months after, Monseigneur Cuenot announces his consecration as coadjutor.

the mission of Lower Cochin China. When the persecution of 1833 broke out, he refused to quit his post; for he served One who had said, "The good shepherd giveth his life for the sheep." For a long time he succeeded in escaping the search of the bloodhounds who were on his track. In September 1835, during the civil war which then raged, he was captured, and the heart of Minh-Mênh was filled with exultation. Conducted forthwith to the capital, and surrounded by all the instruments of torture in order to intimidate his soul, his examination commenced.

"Are you Phû-Koai-Uhon?" This was the Chinese name of the Vicar-Apostolic. "No, I am not." "Where, then, is he?" "I know not." "Are you acquainted with him?" "I know him, but it is long since I have seen him." "How many years have you been in this kingdom?" "Five years." That night the flesh of both his thighs was burned off with red-hot irons; and then he was enclosed in a cage, two and a half feet in height, three in length, and two in width; and so he passed the night. On the morrow he was again brought forth; and then was enacted a scene of unutterable horror, at the bare recital of which the heart grows faint and nature shudders. At a signal from the presiding mandarin,

five men held him down, while five others plunged at the same moment as many bars of hot iron, each eighteen inches long, into different parts of his body. The strong heart of the martyr of Jesus Christ did not fail, though the anguish was more than mortal man could bear; yet even the sharp and bitter cry of agony was obedient to faith, and as the smoke rose up and the tender flesh seethed under the burning rods, the baffled heathen only heard him exclaim, "O, my Father!" And now they mocked him, when the irons had grown cold in his body, and cried out, "Father of the Religion of Jesus!" and then they asked him questions of his religion, such as men, worse than the heathen, sometimes ask among ourselves. "Why do Christians tear out the eyes of the dying?" they said, alluding to the anointing of the eyes by Extreme Unction. The victim, gathering up all his strength, answered, "They do not so; no such thing is ever done." Upon this five fresh irons were applied to him. "Why do married people," they asked, when these in their turn had become cold, "stand before the priest round the altar?" He could still speak, so he said, "They come, in the assembly of Christians, to ask a blessing on their union." A third time his agony recommences. "What *enchanted bread* do you give to

people who have confessed, to make them cling so firmly to their religion?" "It is not bread," replied his dying lips; "it is the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, Incarnate, and become the nourishment of the soul." Thus, to the last, he witnessed for God: but it was not over yet, though fifteen deep and ghastly furrows had been burned in his body. They offered him food to eat, which, like his Master, he refused. And now two other executioners advance, each armed with a keen and heavy blade; a rolling of drums is heard, and when it ceases, both his breasts are lying on the ground. He makes no movement. Again the drums are heard, and again two great pieces of flesh are cut from him. He turns his eyes to heaven, then nature yields, and he bows his head, before they have finished their work. Strike on, ministers of hell; that poor body feels no more. The soul, which you could not touch, has fled, and the martyr is with his God.[1]

Such are the apostles,—for we speak of an event which is but of yesterday,—whom the Church, strong and youthful as in the days when her Lord gave her

[1] Whoever would read of similar deeds done *by Englishmen* to Catholic missionaries, for no other crime than his,—love of Jesus, and of the souls for which Jesus died,—should read Challoner's *Memoirs of Missionary Priests.*

her first lessons, sends to do her work even in this nineteenth century. Through great tribulation they pass to their immense reward. We do not stay here to compare them again with the motley crew of wrangling and heretical prophets, who preach, not Christ, but themselves. Who could endure the comparison? Who would not shrink from it with disgust? The mind, filled with thoughts of heaven, and of the "strong men" who have "taken it by violence," refuses so soon to turn its glance downwards to the things of earth. Let us forget, then, for a moment, that there have been in China teachers of any other class. We have enough to do to meditate on these,—the just, the pure, and the faithful.[1]

[1] "When in China, we are grieved to our heart's core to see the servants of the Romish Church indefatigably and zealously working, making converts of the Chinese, regarding neither difficulties nor discouragement; whilst too many Protestant missionaries occupy their time in secular pursuits, trading and trafficking. . . . . Alas! the lives of many missionaries whom we have seen in China (and elsewhere) are totally foreign to and at variance with their sacred calling, *much of their time being passed in attending auctions*, buying at one price, and transferring their purchase to a native at an advanced rate, although they receive a handsome allowance, more than sufficient for their support. . . . . The conduct of many missionaries is most unbecoming, whether considered in a Christian or social view; and to prove the impression produced on the minds of the Chinese heathens

More than twenty years have elapsed since the event just narrated, yet the battle of which it was only a terrible but characteristic incident has not ceased to rage, nor changed its character, during the interval. Each year in succession, even up to the present hour, has witnessed a repetition of similar combats, and of equally glorious victories. But it is impossible to record them all. "The time would fail to tell," as the great apostle says of some not more noble than these, of all the great deeds which were done by these illustrious preachers, "of whom the world was not worthy." One brief and rapid glance let us give to their work, before we turn to other lands, where we shall again meet the heroes of the Cross, fighting under the same standard, and, like the apostles of China, "not accepting deliverance, that they might obtain a better resurrection."

In 1837, on the 20th of September, after a fitting preparation of affliction and toil, Father Corday was added to the number of martyrs. On the 12th of June 1838, Monseigneur Ignatius Delgado, for forty years Vicar-Apostolic in Tong-king, died in prison

by the lives of the missionaries being at variance with their preaching, *the common expressions made use of with reference to them are, Lie-preaching devils.*" *China and the Chinese*, by Henry Charles Sirr, M.A., vol. ii. ch. x. pp. 215, 216 (1849).

of his sufferings. His venerable coadjutor, Dominic Henarez, after an apostolate of *forty-nine years*, was martyred on the 25th of the month, in spite of his gray hairs. On the 5th of July, still in the same year, Bishop Havard, stretched on a mat in a wretched hut, after all his noble labours, died of want and fatigue.[1] Fathers Candahl and Vialle, who had long been hiding in caves and dens, died the same death;[2] while Father Simonin perished in his flight to the mountains.[3] On the 24th of November, Monseigneur

[1] It should be instructive to religious Anglicans to know, that during the troubles in France he had been French tutor in an English school in London, but was dismissed for "refusing to conduct the pupils to a Protestant church." *Annals*, vol. i. p. 535.

[2] On two occasions M. Candahl received a gratuitous passage on board an English ship, though he was known to be a Catholic missionary. Both in China and India our missionaries have often acknowledged similar acts of generosity; for there have always been individual Englishmen whose private virtues rebuked the national crimes. Father de Fontaney, who returned to Europe in 1704, wrote from London to Père la Chaise, "I can declare of the English who reside in the Chinese ports that their conduct does them honour." *Lettres édifiantes*, tome xvii. p. 384.

[3] He and Father Vialle contrived to enter Tong-king in the spring of 1835, passing through dangers of every kind, sometimes shipwrecked, often hiding in caves and mountains, exhausted by hunger and thirst, their feet wounded and bleeding, and only venturing at night to the seashore to moisten their parched lips with its brine! *Annales*, tome viii. p. 402.

Borie, Vicar-Apostolic of Western Tong-king, was decapitated, after seven fruitless attempts on the part of the executioner, whom the martyr calmly encouraged in his task, so that even the mandarins hid their faces in horror.[1] Thus the Church in the kingdom of Annam lost four Bishops in one year. Well might Bishop Cuenot, upon whom the mantle of the martyred prelates had now fallen, say, in a letter from Cochin China in 1839: "Our ranks, as you perceive, are thinning fast; and if this deplorable crisis lasts, our poor flock will soon be orphans." Father Delamotte also, who had become Pro-Vicar-Apostolic of Cochin China, writes as follows: "The year 1838 has been a year of sorrow and misery for Tong-king and Upper Cochin China. The sword of persecution has committed terrible ravages, and heaven has been

[1] When Monseigneur Borie refused to answer the questions of the mandarins, the presiding judge said to him, "When your flesh is torn to pieces with iron rods, will you then be able to keep silence?" "I shall then see what I can do," he replied; "I dare not flatter myself before the trial." In his prison he continued to preach Jesus Christ with extraordinary fervour. "The joy which beamed in his face, notwithstanding the heavy *cangue* which weighed down his shoulders, excited the admiration of the pagans. 'This master,' they were heard to say, 'has truly a heart for teaching religion; if hereafter he can continue to instruct us, we also will embrace his doctrine.'" *Annals*, vol. i. p. 551.

peopled with martyrs. The two Dominican Bishops of Eastern Tong-king were arrested and beheaded in the month of July last. Three Spanish fathers of the same order were also beheaded, and seven native priests shed their blood for Jesus Christ."

It would be too long to speak of the sufferings of the *laity*, yet a single example may suffice to show that they were not unworthy of their teachers. Michael Mi, one of these generous confessors, received in forty days more than five hundred lashes; yet nothing could shake his firmness. "Fool," said the mandarins to him; "why are you so obstinately bent upon dying?" And the members of his family, even his children, emulated his courage. When the moment of his martyrdom arrived, and the executioner offered for a certain sum to cut off his head at one stroke: "Cut it into a hundred pieces if you like," said the martyr: "so that you cut it off, that is enough for me." Even the mandarins, brutal as they were, were so much touched by the virtues displayed by some of the martyrs at this time, that they privately said to them: "We know that you do not merit death, and we would willingly save you; but the orders of the king do not permit us to do so. Pardon us, therefore, if we are compelled to take away your lives, and do not impute this

crime to us."[1] Like Pilate, they knew they were condemning the innocent; so they calmly washed their hands, and protested it was no act of theirs.

It was with reference to this persecution that Pope Gregory XVI. said, in his encyclical letter of the 18th September 1840, "What greater triumph for the Church and religion, what greater cause of confusion for the persecutors, than to see realised, even in our own days, the Divine promises of perpetual assistance and protection! Hence may we say, with St. Leo, *that no species of cruelty can ever destroy the religion which is founded upon the mystery of the Cross of Jesus Christ.*"

But Cochin China was not the only theatre of these events. In Corea, at the other extremity of the empire, Bishop Imbert, so well known to all readers of the *Annals*, was martyred in 1839, and with him FF. Chastan and Maubant. With them also a glorious company of the faithful ascended to heaven; of whom seventy were beheaded, and one hundred and eighty strangled. "There is nothing in the records of missions," says an eloquent French voice, "so like a martyrology as the annals of the

[1] *Annals*, vol. i. p. 543. Bishop Luquet has given a brief narrative of the principal *native* martyrs in his *Preface* to Theiner's *L'Eglise Schismatique Russe.*

Church of Corea. Her whole history is written in blood; every date is marked by a persecution; every detail describes a scene of torture, a dungeon, or an execution. Every person discovered to be a Christian is invariably a martyr. Her first neophyte was a martyr; her first Chinese apostle a martyr; her first native priest a martyr; her first Bishop a martyr; her first European missionaries were *all* martyrs."[1]

[1] *Annals*, vol. xiv. p. 189. When the overtasked apostles of this land of martyrs sent to Rome in 1817 for a European priest for the Corean mission, they said, "Any ecclesiastic who may receive this vocation may be assured that he will have the happiness to suffer much for the glory of God, that he will make many conversions, and that in a few years he will obtain the crown of martyrdom." *Annales*, tome iv. p. 205. The formidable invitation was accepted; and here is a recent example of the spirit in which the true missionary of Christ responds to such a call. "It is for the purpose of penetrating into a kingdom from whence his predecessors have only been delivered by the scaffold, and with the intention of sharing the misery and proscription of a few faithful and unknown strangers, that M. Maistre has devoted to this object ten years of his life, spent sixty thousand francs in roaming around the impenetrable frontier, in running about in all sorts of disguises through all kinds of perils, from the ports of China to the deserts of Leao-tong, seeking for Corean guides, which he looked for in vain, asking alternately the Chinese barques and the French ships to land him upon the coast where his tomb was already marked out! Death was so evidently to be the result of the enterprise, that the most courageous

Nothing, indeed, is so wonderful in this marvellous history as the prodigious fortitude and heroism of men who, in a vast number of cases, had scarcely received the baptism of water when they were called upon to accept also the baptism of blood. Father Marette observes, in 1840, of the lay martyrs in Tong-king: "Their constancy is the more worthy of admiration, since they are neither Europeans, sustained by the natural vigour of their constitutional character, nor apostles, impatient to shed their blood for the Gospel, but timid Asiatics, whom grace alone has converted into heroes." And then he quotes some of the letters which he had himself received from them in their last hour. "I confide in the

seamen refused to be his accomplices by lending him their aid. It required all the zeal of an apostle to comprehend this heroism, and second its endeavours. Being a priest, Father Helot understood what was required by the cross; and as a member of a society whose tradition is that they have never been baffled by any difficulties or perils, he felt himself at the post where his company wished him to be, when rivalling in zeal and courage a foreign apostle. In the general panic, the Jesuit turns himself into the pilot of a battered bark, safely conducts his intrepid passenger to an unknown land, and after having deposited him on the shore, and looked after him some time in prayers and fervent good wishes, returns to his neophytes with the consoling satisfaction of having exposed his life for a mission that is not his own." *Annals*, vol. xiv. p. 190.

merits of my Saviour," says one, "and in the protection of the holy Virgin, and of the blessed martyrs who await me in the bosom of God. I salute you for the last time!" "Your child offers you a thousand salutations," writes another, who was a mere youth, and whose agony was about to commence; "I am filled with joy at having been predestined by God for martyrdom. I say it with sincerity; for I would not dare to boast before you, who are established judge of good and evil. Pray, while your son is in the combat, that God, at your solicitation, may grant him strength in the midst of his trial."[1]

But we must hasten to an end. In 1840, M. Perboyre was martyred on the 11th of September, after long and horrible tortures, and with him M. Torrette, a Lazarist missionary. This year also saw the death of Father Luke Loan, a native Annamite priest; a man so venerated for his virtues, that it was only by offering a large bribe that the mandarins could procure an executioner. "My father, I bow before you," said this man, when he came to perform his bloody task; "if it depended on me alone, you should live in peace; but the king's will must be done, and I cannot resist it. Do not, I beg, impute

[1] *Annals*, vol. ii. p. 202.

your death to me; and when you are in heaven pray for me."[1]

Meanwhile the supreme pastors of this noble flock,—in whose ears and hearts was ever sounding a gracious voice, which ceased not to say, *Feed my sheep*,—were striving by all means to recruit their own diminished ranks. In 1841, Monseigneur Retord, Vicar-Apostolic of Western Tong-king, says, "I have just consecrated Father Hermozilla. After having surmounted a thousand obstacles, and escaped a thousand dangers, he arrived on the 23d of April. The ceremony was performed on the 25th, in a cabin thatched with straw, in a village situated on the edge of a thick forest, in order that, in case of imminent danger, we might take refuge in it. You may well suppose that the ornamental part of the ceremony was not of a very costly kind. Almost immediately after, the new Bishop set out again, in order to confer the episcopal character on his coadjutor; for in these regions we must hasten to anoint with the holy chrism other foreheads, when our own head is perhaps about to fall immediately under the axe of the executioner." And in the next year, 1842, the same prelate, for he still survived, could say, "Since my return to Tong-king, I have already con-

[1] *Annals*, vol. viii. p. 201.

secrated two Bishops and eleven priests. We have at present but one priest less than before the persecution ; for in proportion as heads fall, others rise up to blunt the sword of the executioner."[1]

And now a momentary lull occurred, and the storm seemed to abate ; so that, in 1846, Father Rodriguez could say, "During the course of last year I travelled unconcernedly through the three districts of the province, where I baptized 300 adults, administered the sacrament of Confirmation to 3402 persons, and received into the bosom of the Church a great number who had been dissevered by the violence of persecution." An age of martyrdom is no doubt glorious for the Church ; but a season of tranquillity has also its advantages. For see what these apostles did during three years of comparative repose. Monseigneur Retord gives the following account of them. In 1844, in his own mission of *Western* Tong-king alone, they baptized 1237 *adults;* in 1845, 1328 adults ; and in 1846, 1308. In the three years they also baptized 25,673 *children.* Again, in the same mission they heard, in 1844, 181,418 confessions; in 1845, 226,413 confessions; and in 1846, 230,939 confessions. Once more : in 1844 they gave 110,519 communions ; in 1845, 129,124 com-

[1] *Annals*, vol. iv. p. 209.

munions; and in 1846, 135,640 communions. In 1850, the same Bishop could still report that "our Christians increase at the annual rate of *three thousand.*"[1] This was in a single province of Cochin China; in which they could now reckon, in spite of a persecution perhaps unparalleled in the annals of Christianity, 91 *native* priests, 49 in minor orders or seminarists, 200 catechists, 300 Latin students in six colleges, and 673 religious in 34 convents.[2]

From Corea, in the following year, 1847, Monseigneur Ferreol writes as follows: "The generosity and the triumphs of the Corean martyrs will have filled you with joy. . . . . The apostolic ministry in

[1] *Annals*, vol. xii. p. 313.

[2] Throughout all the provinces of China there are communities of religious women, who consecrate themselves to God in the holy state of virginity. "In localities where there are at most only a few hundreds of the faithful, there are forty or fifty virgins whom neither promises nor threats can dissuade from the resolution which they have taken from their infancy, to devote themselves to the service of God, under the protection of Mary. So sweet is the perfume of the virtues of Mary even in this land of infidelity." Quoted in *Life in China*, by the Rev. W. C. Milne, p. 486. This gentleman, in proof of the "gross system of Mariolatry" which prevails amongst the Chinese Christians, quotes such expressions as "Holy Mary," "Holy Mother of God," "Mother of Christ," &c. Does he mean to say that she is *not* holy? not Mother of God? not Mother of Christ? How admirably qualified this person must be to convert the heathen!

these countries is crucifying to nature. The diet is fatal to Europeans; bread and wine are unknown here; boiled rice, and water in which barley has been steeped, are the substitutes. Encompassed with perils, we can never venture out except enveloped in the garb of mourning, to conceal our faces. Yet in the midst of our pains and toils God does not leave us without consolations to soothe them. . . . . On several occasions, in the capital, I have been afflicted to tears at beholding Christians, belonging to the highest nobility, availing themselves of the moment when the rest of the family were asleep in order to come to confession. This mysterious secrecy is here a necessity; for every Christian seized is put to death, unless he rescues himself by apostasy."[1] Yet that very year he baptized 768 adults, and admitted 467 catechumens,—being an addition of 1235 to the number of those who were willing to endure the loss of all things for His sake whom they had so lately learned to know.

In the next year, 1848,—for it is well to read this story to its last page,—Monseigneur Perrocheau writes from the province of Su-tchuen, in the very heart of China: "In spite of the obstacles which the mandarins oppose to the conversion of the infidels,

[1] *Annals*, vol. x. p. 268.

we have admitted 1280 neophytes upon the roll of catechumens, and baptized 888 adults within the year. God be praised! But it is our angelic society which affords us the greatest consolation. The number of children of infidels baptized in danger of death amounts this year to 84,416; of whom about two-thirds, who are now already in possession of unspeakable happiness, will love and praise God through all eternity."[1]

From the province of Nanking we hear, in 1849, that the *Stations of the Cross* had been established in nearly 300 different localities, and "more than 100 chapels newly built or substantially repaired;" while "5000 pagan adults had been regenerated in the waters of baptism, and 15,000 to 20,000 children, most of whom," says Bishop Maresca, "have gone, since their baptism, to swell the train of the spotless Lamb." He adds, that the number of European missionaries in his diocese had increased from four to twenty-eight in five years. "My college," he says, "contains thirty pupils, who are all natives, except a young Englishman."

In 1850, the flame of persecution burst forth once again in Tong-king, in which the laity showed a firmness of faith and courage which not even their

[1] *Annals*, vol. xi. p. 93.

anointed apostles could surpass.[1] In 1851, Father Augustin Schœffler, a French missionary, was martyred. "With reference to the individuals whom

[1] Let a single example suffice. The village of Ly-tou-pa, near the city of Kiu-hien, contained, in 1847, two hundred and forty inhabitants, who were all Christians. So great were their virtues that even the pagans of the neighbourhood "proclaimed aloud that the inhabitants of Ly-tou-pa were irreproachable." The mandarins of Kiu-hien thought otherwise, and in an evil day repaired to the village. The houses were sacked and pillaged; some of the people were seized and tortured, a mandarin asking at intervals, "Will you renounce your religion?" and the confessors answering with one voice, "Never." After sixty blows, "the mouths of the confessors were full of blood, and they were unable to reply. The mandarin distinguished a voice which cried 'Jesus! save us!' 'Oh! they still pray; strike, strike, kill them!' Their jaws are mangled; the blood gushes from their mouths; their hands hang paralysed, and the bloody scourge still makes deep gashes along their backs." Five days after, they are again brought up from prison, and commanded to trample on the cross. "Toung-tcheu-hio replied in the name of all his companions,—'Mandarin, it is useless to speak to us of apostasy; we are prepared to suffer every thing rather than renounce our faith. You can imprison, exile, or decapitate us if you think proper, but you can never deprive us of our God.' On hearing these words, the judge struck his breast with bewilderment. He seemed to say, 'Alas! what is to be done with such people?' In a word, he had never met with Christians." The letter which describes all the details is written by Father Bertrand, from the city of Kiu-hien, and dated the 23d of August 1850. *Annals*, vol. xii. p. 203.

this fellow has trained in his doctrine," says the edict which condemned him, "and the houses that have furnished him an asylum, he entertained such attachment for them, as utterly to persist in refusing to disclose them, in spite of all our cross-examining." As he went to the place of execution, a placard was carried before him which ended with these words: "On his arrest he confessed truly the whole charge of preaching the religion of Jesus. His crime is patent. Let Mr. Augustin be beheaded, and cast into a stream."[1]

In 1854, the Vicar-Apostolic of Western Tong-king writes to a friend in France: "Do not imagine that, amidst all our trials, I am melancholy, dejected, and discouraged; you would find me at the present day such as you have always known me. We are not without our consolations; the Lord has compassion on our weakness. If He does sometimes allow us to drink the cup of bitterness, it is always mixed with the honey of His grace. Whilst permitting us to be persecuted, He blesses our efforts to convert souls to Him. Last year we regenerated upwards of 15,000 children of infidels in danger of death, and have collected upwards of 700 in a state of health, whom we have placed with our neophytes, to be brought up

[1] *Annals*, vol. xiii. p. 17.

as Christians. We baptized also upwards of 1500 *adults*, and heard 222,008 confessions. I have just completed the census of our faithful; and I have great pleasure in stating that, during the last five years, their number has increased by about 10,000. This is about all the ecclesiastical news in Tong-king." But he also tells his friend that these Chinese Christians "are living in the observance of all the precepts of religion with an exactitude, assiduity, and constancy far exceeding that of your European Christians." And his brother Bishop of Eastern Tong-king, Monseigneur Cuenot, reports that, in *that* province, in the same period, they had baptized 1040 adults, 15,960 children, and admitted 600 new catechumens.

Finally, in 1856, the history ends as it began, by fresh martyrdoms, as glorious as any which preceded them. On the 29th of February in that year, in the province of Quang-tong, Father Chapdelaine, who had only spent three years in the mission, was beheaded. He had a few days previously been tortured, and had received 100 blows in the face, so that his jaws were completely smashed; yet, as the apostolic prefect relates, he did not utter a cry, "but, united as he was to the heart of our suffering Lord, he endured the most exquisite tortures without a

word." He was carried back to prison, frightfully mutilated and unable to move hand or foot; yet, a moment after, to the amazement of all who saw him, he rose up and began to walk, as if in perfect health." When his astonished guards begged him to reveal to them privately how it was possible that he should be able to walk, "the Father answered with a smile, '*It is because our good God has protected and blessed me.*'"[1]

And now we may conclude; for we have received the record almost up to the present hour. Something we have learned of the Catholic apostolate in China; yet how little! How feebly and faintly do a few barren dates and skeleton facts shadow forth the sublime incidents of that sacred warfare,—the long years of patient suffering and unquenchable zeal,—the secret and ineffable communions with God,—the days of toil and the nights of prayer,—the mysterious operations of the Holy Ghost,—the

[1] *Annals*, vol. xvii. p. 346. There have been additional martyrdoms since this date, and two more Bishops have sealed their faith with their blood; but the details are not before me. The *Singapore Free Press*, April 13, 1843, recording the sufferings of the French priests in Cochin China, says, that the heathen were so astonished at their calm patience under torture, as to exclaim,—"These strangers probably possess some charm to deaden pain." *Chinese Repository*, vol. xii. p. 539.

floods of grace poured out,—the matchless fidelity,—the calm unearthly strength,—and all consummated, at the appointed hour, by the keen knife or the burning brand. Happy they who are kinsmen, begotten of the same Mother, with these great apostles. Happy they who may boldly claim them, by the communion of saints, as friends, brothers, and advocates.[1] We are of the same family and household, and their glory is ours also. But, alas for the alien and the stranger, who has neither part nor lot with these marvels of grace and beauty; in whom no wistful thought of love or reverence is kindled by the contemplation of their incomparable lives; who bite their lips and scowl, as some scowled even at the foot of the Cross; or who look on from afar, with hate or malice or envy, at best with bitter and unavailing regret, upon deeds which they cannot understand, and virtues which they cannot imitate.

Such, then, is the first example of that great *Contrast* which we propose to trace, not only in China, but in every part of the world where Catholic and Protestant missionaries are found together. Every where we shall see the same ineffaceable

[1] "Mirabilis est Dominus in sanctis suis, in quibus nobis et *præsidium* constituit et exemplum." S. Leonis Mag. *Serm.* 83, *Opp.* p. 346.

distinction, both in their character and their work.[1] Every where too we shall find the truth of the French proverb,—*Heresy always stops where persecution begins.* We have seen the Protestant missionaries swarming in a few of the *sea-ports* of China, where they could reside without peril or inconvenience; but we have not met them in Sutchuen, nor in Corea, nor in Tong-king, nor in Tartary, nor in Mantcheou. Their temperate and calculating zeal arrests them on the frontiers of danger, and they recoil even at the distant prospect of hard fare and ceaseless toil, of the smart of the lash, the clank of the chain, the gloom of the prison, and the final combat on the scaffold or in the flames. Nor can we reasonably blame their caution. They have no vocation to this apostolic warfare, and they know it. St. Paul in Athens they think they admire, but St. Paul decapitated is quite a different thing. They talk complacently of St. Peter preaching at Jerusalem, but St. Peter crucified at Rome is an unpleasant

[1] "It cannot, indeed, be denied that the great number of poor Regulars (voluntarily poor), inured to hard living, and brought up in an implicit obedience to their Superiors, hath hitherto given to the Church of Rome, in regard to her missions, great advantage over the reformed churches." Bishop Berkeley's *Works*, vol. ii. p. 433 (1784).

reflection. As soon as blood begins to flow, they turn away their heads. But at least we might fairly expect that they would discharge the easier duties of the safer calling which they have assumed. Even here we are disappointed. A recent traveller in China, an officer in the British navy, has published a work which is entitled *Five Years in China.* It is impossible to terminate this chapter without referring to it. After asserting, as the result of his observations, that "partial success has attended the preaching of the Roman Catholics *alone*," and noticing with wonder that there are "more than forty thousand members (of their Church) in the apostolic vicariate of Fukien," he continues thus: "I wish I could say as much for the success of the Church-of-England mission; but at Koo-lung-su, where I was for upwards of a year, the only *two* Protestant converts that I could hear of *were suspected of running off with the communion plate.*"[1] It seems their "converts" are always of the same class. But this gentleman has more to tell us. With the honest candour which belongs to his gallant profession, he contrasts with the Catholic missionaries some of those of his own creed whom he happened to meet in China. The first is a clergyman of what is called

[1] *Five Years in China,* ch. xi. p. 184 (1848).

"the Church of England," though only one third of our population even profess to belong, in any sense whatever, even the loosest, to that decaying institution.[1] This clergyman, he says, would not even "attend the military hospitals to administer the consolations of religion to the sick;" and when he was rebuked by the regimental surgeon, he blandly replied: "Soldiers and sailors are so very bad, it is of no use, I never like to go near them."[2]

In this unexpected dearth of what is somewhat inaccurately called "the consolations of religion," it appears that the authorities, more humane than the clergy, had recourse to "an American missionary, who undertook the cure of souls of an English regiment, at a salary of 250*l.* per annum, *paid weekly*," —an arrangement which must have been highly advantageous to the Chinese tradesmen whom he honoured with his custom. Being "sent for," to visit a dying soldier, "he came—as far as the foot of the staircase"—where, learning what the case was, "the holy man merely gasped, 'Delirium tremens!' in a tone of pious horror, turned upon his heel, and went his way!" What follows is worthy of notice. "Father Barrentin was in the hospital at the time, visiting

[1] "Ruinosa est domus, et piget migrare!"

[2] *Five Years in China*, p. 185.

some Catholic patients belonging to the regiment, and the officers told me he attends most assiduously to his duty, and *gratuitously*, inasmuch as it forms no part of his regular mission ; and though his stipend, under the Bishop of Macao, is only ninety dollars per annum,—less than 18*l.*,—yet upon that he lives, and declines all offers of further payment. He had seen the dying man, when told that there was no hope of his obtaining the consolations of religion as prescribed by his own church. At the soldier's own request, communicated to him through the hospital attendant, the good Father administered to him the last offices of the Roman Catholic Church, in communion with which, I need hardly say, the poor man died."[1]

One more passage we must borrow from this intelligent officer, and it shall be the last. We have read in these pages of *Corea*,—a peninsula which forms the northern boundary of the Yellow Sea,—and of its many martyrs. Mr. Smith gave us some information about it, and about that worthy captain whose own father and grandfather had been martyred. Here is another Protestant witness, who can assure us that the Corean Christians have not degenerated since Mr. Smith saw them. "When at

[1] *Five Years in China*, p. 186.

Shanghae," says Lieutenant Forbes, "I met with a Corean, of noble birth, and by profession a Roman Catholic priest. *His father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, had all died for that religion.* After completing his education at Macao, he was landed from a junk at Ningpo, to find his way from thence to his own country, on foot, a distance of at least *fourteen hundred miles!* . . . . . More than once he had witnessed a partial massacre of his own flock, and had himself been hunted down by dogs."

Was he, then, fleeing from these perils, and grown weary of suffering? Not so; he was worthy of his martyred ancestry, and of his own vocation. "The reason of his again quitting his country," says Lieutenant Forbes, "was to meet a French Bishop, lately appointed, and to save him the trouble of a land journey. For this purpose he had brought a junk. . . . He dined with us once or twice on board, and we found him a clever, agreeable, well-informed man, with a fund of anecdotes, and a very good manner. He spoke French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Chinese, and Corean, with a smattering of Japanese, and had travelled all over China, Manchou, and Mongul. The last I heard of him was a report, though afterwards contradicted, of his having been cast ashore

on the Shang-tung province, and only one man saved."[1]

If, however, the contrast which exists between the two classes of missionaries is so flagrant and palpable, that even the most indifferent and superficial observers are compelled to notice it, and reluctantly reveal their new-born suspicion that God is with the one and not with the other;[2] and if there is precisely the same difference between the converts whom they respectively attract,—saints and martyrs being formed in the one school, and in the other only a few cunning and disreputable recruits, ready to desert as soon as their wages fall into arrears, and apt to appropriate every stray waif within their reach, not excepting the "communion plate,"[3]—it must be admitted that at least the Protestant Missionary Societies do not hesitate to apply the only remedy which they can command,

[1] *Five Years in China*, p. 190.

[2] "Non intelligimus judicantem, *sed vidimus operantem.*" St. Leo.

[3] We shall see hereafter similar examples in other countries. Morrison speaks of a Chinese "whom I tried to make attached to us by acts of kindness, and who robbed Mr. —— of 121 dollars." *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 287. At Malacca some of their pretended "converts," employed in printing, stole "several cases of type;" vol. ii. p. 67.

or which is within the compass of their ideas. When England and America had sent fifty missionaries to China, though their labour was for the most part limited to the tranquil expenditure of their salaries, it was determined that, since fifty had failed, the number should be made up to a hundred; and when the unwelcome discovery was made that these also were only looking each other in the face, and repeating Mr. Medhurst's lament, "Why are we not successful in conversions?"—the only device they could frame was to send out another hundred.[1] It is true that this profuse employment of missionary gentlemen was due to a complex motive. The various sects into which Protestantism is divided are condemned, by a law of their being, to be always running a race with each other, and

[1] "Up to the year 1847, the number of (American) Protestant missionaries, not including females, sent to China, was *one hundred and sixteen.*" *Scenes in China,* by Mrs. Henrietta Shuck, Missionary in China, p. 246. See also *Memoirs of American Missionaries,* by the Rev. Gavin Struthers; and *Year-Book of Missions,* by Elijah Hoole. The latter remarks, p. 186, that "the sum of 15,000*l.*," nearly as much as is expended annually in *all* the Catholic missions of China, "has been contributed for the endowment of a Protestant bishopric." I find no allusion by any Protestant writer to the gentleman who holds this office. What does he do?

never getting to the end of it. As soon, therefore, as the London Missionary Society had made a settlement at Canton, it was natural that the "Establishment" should hurry on the embarkation of its rival emissaries. Then the Presbyterians could not endure to leave the field to their hereditary foes; while the Wesleyans, in their turn, resolved to contend with both, and to have a share in what was going on. And so they were soon to be seen running after one another, in a more or less symmetrical procession, and presenting their several spiritual wares to the notice of the astonished Chinese. Here is a list of them, or at least of a good many of them; and a very singular picture the group must exhibit to the ingenious inhabitants of the Chinese sea-ports. They appear in the following order:

1. The London Missionary Society.
2. „ Church Missionary ditto.
3. „ General Baptist ditto.
4. „ Presbyterian Free Church ditto.
5. „ Methodist ditto.
6. „ Chinese Evangelisation ditto.
7. „ Rhenish ditto.
8. „ German ditto.
9. „ Swedish ditto.

10. The Berlin ditto.
11. „ American Board of Foreign Missions.
12. „ American Baptist ditto.
13. „ American Presbyterian ditto.
14. „ American Episcopal ditto.
15. „ American Methodist ditto.
16. „ American Southern Baptist ditto.
17. „ American Seventh-Day Baptist ditto.[1]

Probably by this time the list, ample as it is, has been considerably augmented.[2] "We have all classes

[1] Dr. Brown's *History of the Propagation of Christianity among the Heathen*, vol. iii. p. 370.

[2] Though not much to the advantage of the Chinese. "There is no greater barrier to the spread of the gospel of our Saviour among the heathen than the division and splitting which have taken place among the various orders of Christians themselves. Let us ask any intelligent Chinese what he thinks of this, and he will tell us, that these persons *cannot* be influenced by the same great principle; but that Europe and America must have as many Christs as China has gods!" *Suggestions with regard to employing Medical Practitioners as Missionaries to China*, by T. R. Colledge, Esq., H.M.S., p. 33. "There is a great and fatal error to be avoided; and that is, the rivalry of religious sects among each other, and the attempt to gain followers at the expense of each other's tenets." Bernard's *Services of the Nemesis*. How is the error to be remedied? Another Protestant writer, who proclaims all his opinions with rare honesty, says: "It cannot be denied that, in respect of unity, the Protestant communities are in a most awful state, and all for want of

of missionaries here," says Mr. Wingrove Cooke in 1858, "except only high churchmen, whereof I have met none.[1] The ordained clergy in China often abandon their Prayer-book, and conduct their service in the Presbyterian form. Some of the sectarian ministers carry their Protestantism with a dauntlessness that makes one start or shiver." Apparently it only makes the Chinese laugh; and Mr. Cooke tenders "to the Missionary Societies in England and America" a valuable suggestion, which they are not at all likely to receive, when he says, "Ignorant declaimers in bad Chinese have no success in China."[2]

a tribunal in matters of faith." *Journal* of the Rev. Joseph Wolff, LL.D., p. 128. There is one such tribunal: does Dr. Wolff suppose there can be two?

[1] They are probably too conscientious to go there. They know it would take them years to learn the language, and are not generally the kind of men who would accept a salary for doing nothing. Mr. Osmond Tiffany says he went out in a ship with "two missionaries from Oxford, going to enlighten the Chinese on the Thirty-nine Articles." *The Canton Chinese,* ch. i. p. 9. One can hardly imagine the hopeless perplexity of a Chinese trying to understand the difference between High and Low Church Protestantism.

[2] *China,* ch. xi. p. 176. People will remember Mr. Cooke's anecdote of the Protestant missionary, who, being asked by a mandarin if he would trample on the Cross, answered eagerly: "Certainly I would." Who doubts it?

But we may be quite sure that, in spite of their want of success, they will stay there, and that their incomes will continue to be punctually paid: for, considering what these gentlemen do there, and how entirely satisfied their patient employers and admiring patrons are with them, we are led to believe that the popular conception of the objects of a Protestant missionary body is a mistake; and that, after all, they are simply benevolent societies, supported, like other eleemosynary institutions, by voluntary gifts, and designed only to provide a gratuitous maintenance for the fruitful wives and abundant progeny of an indefinite number of necessitous ministers of all denominations. This is their real aim; and if their benevolence is a good deal more profitable to the missionaries themselves than it is to the heathen, so much the worse for the heathen.

It seems natural to ask, before we close this chapter, with what feelings Protestants themselves regard the *Contrast* which so many of their own friends have revealed to us, and whether they are prepared to suggest any explanation of it? This is our final inquiry.

It appears, then, that the better sort admit, some with frank and hearty sincerity, others only with effort and a more reluctant candour, that the history

of religion in China exhibits the action of two distinct agencies, of which one is Divine, and the other human. But some, as might be expected, prefer to gainsay the success which they cannot themselves attain, and even to revile the apostles by whose labours it has been accomplished. Nor need this surprise us. It was by Beelzebub, said the unbelieving Jews, that the Son of God cast out devils: while He Himself warns us, that "the servant is not greater than his Lord." And accordingly we find that some Protestants,—men of station and of cultivated minds, incapable of meanness or falsehood in the ordinary commerce of life, but who cherish a supreme aversion for all which is supernatural, and therefore for the mysterious virtues of the Catholic apostle,—are quite prepared with an answer. They deny the success of the work, and they vehemently defame its authors. As this may appear incredible, in the face of such evidence as has been collected in these pages, it becomes necessary to quote their own words. Two or three specimens will suffice.

Mr. Wells Williams, a gentleman who published in 1848 an elaborate work on China, has the courage to say of Catholic converts, "they can hardly be considered as much better than baptized pagans." It is true that he imprudently avows his reason for

thinking so, for he presently adds, "until the confessional be abolished, and the worship of the Virgin." Perhaps it did not occur to Mr. Williams that it was the martyred apostles of China who taught them their respect for the confessional, and their reverence for the Mother of God; and that the first kept their souls free from stain, while the second was only the complement of their belief in the Incarnation. Does he think that Father Ricci and his successors were only "baptized pagans"? But we need not be careful to answer a gentleman who, like all his fellows, makes haste to answer himself. "Few missions in pagan countries," he says in one place, "have been more favoured with zealous converts, or their missionaries more aided and countenanced by rich and noble supporters, than the early papal missions to China." Again, speaking of the eighteenth century, he says, "The converts exhibited the greatest fidelity in adhering to them, even at the risk of death." And once more, of the recent events in the kingdom of Annam he speaks as follows: "Many of their converts exhibit the greatest constancy in their profession, suffering persecution, torture, imprisonment, banishment, and death, rather than deny their faith, though every inducement of prevarication and mental reservation was held out to them by the magistrates

in order to avoid the necessity of proceeding to extreme measures. If suffering the loss of all things is an evidence of piety, many of them have proved their title to it in many ways."[1] Can Mr. Williams suggest any better title?

Another Protestant writer, the Rev. William Gillespie, goes a little further, and says of the Chinese Christians,—"in becoming Papists they *give up nothing*"![2] They would probably be very much obliged to him if he could prove it. Does Mr. Gillespie think it "nothing" to give up cheerfully, for the love of Christ, goods, liberty, and life? Is he prepared to imitate their example? Perhaps he may one day understand, that to sneer at graces which we do not ourselves possess, is odious both in the sight of God and man.

Mr. Montgomery Martin gives us also his view of the *Contrast*, and a very notable one it is. The Protestant missionaries are "so very strict," he says, and this is why they make so few converts! They could easily make a great many if they were as lax in their conditions as the Catholics. How it comes to pass that the few whom they do make are such as we have seen, while thousands of Catho-

[1] *The Middle Kingdom*, vol. ii. ch. xix. p. 324.

[2] *The Land of Sinim*, ch. iv. p. 132.

lics resist every temptation, striving, as the Apostle exhorts, *usque ad sanguinem*, — this Mr. Martin has discreetly omitted to notice.[1] But he has another explanation of the failure of Protestant missions. "The Protestant missionaries will not adopt *secret and stealthy means* to promote Christianity."[2] The Protestant missionaries, as Mr. Martin very well knows, would do just what the Catholics did; only they want courage to imitate them.[3] The Catholics knew by experience that if they presented themselves openly, and in their European habit, they would be turned back at once; *therefore*, in order to deliver

[1] That such men as the Catholic missionaries of China would not "cast pearls before swine," nor commit the sacrilege of conferring the sacraments lightly, hardly needs proof. The charge is only a new illustration of the familiar fable of the "Fox and the Grapes," a tale with which Mr. Martin is perhaps acquainted. It is useless to give examples of their strictness, of which almost every page in their annals is full; but see the *Letters* of Père le Comte, and the *Lettres édifiantes*, tome xvii. p. 317.

[2] *China, &c.* vol. ii. p. 490. "Their object was to propagate the Roman Catholic faith. The means they took were not open and direct, but covert and disguised." *China*, by Peter Auber, ch. ii. p. 47.

[3] "The risks the Catholic missionary would run, and the dangers he would hazard, were greater than those which the Protestant missionary feels himself called upon to encounter." *The Cross and the Dragon, &c.* ch. xiv. p. 189. Why? How many of the first Twelve were *martyrs?*

their divine message, they adopted the Chinese dress, and then boldly confided themselves to the Providence of God. Does Mr. Martin still condemn this necessary precaution? If he does, will he tell us why he has no word of censure for a similar act on the part of a missionary of his own sect? He relates with complacency how Mr. Milne, — in 1842, *after* the war!—was the only Protestant missionary who "succeeded in travelling in the interior;" and then tells us, with the astonishing inconsistency of his class, that "*to prevent detection*, he always hired a boat to himself, so that his expenses amounted to more than two hundred dollars." And as if this were not a sufficient refutation of his own imprudent argument, he declares immediately, that "no effort was made, *in any way*," by Mr. Milne, "to carry out his objects in coming to this country." Yet he ventures to repeat again his foolish charge, and says with still more emphasis: "Protestant missionaries do not feel justified in practising the *deception* so constantly made use of by the Catholic priests, and through which alone they succeed so effectually in entering within the barrier, and propagating their tenets in face of the most severe prohibition."[1] It is quite

[1] It is amusing to find that, after all, the Protestant missionaries *did* practise "deception," though not with the purpose of

lawful, then, according to Mr. Martin, to travel for pleasure or amusement in China in such a garb as to "prevent detection," provided we do not "in any way" reveal our Christianity; but if the same precautions are taken in order to preach the Gospel, and to find the opportunity of encountering martyrdom, it is a shameful "deception." And this is all which Protestantism has to say in explanation of the *Contrast!*[1]

One Protestant, indeed, and I believe only one,

confronting danger, but of escaping it. Thus Morrison; "like the Jesuit Fathers in one respect, he assumed in Canton, at first, the Chinese costume, and adopted several Chinese customs. He cultivated a tail of respectable length, allowed his finger-nails to grow," &c. *The Cross and the Dragon*, ch. xv. p. 209. So also Gutzlaff "adopted the dress, conforming himself, so far as he can consistently do it, to the habits of the Chinese." *Missionary Records*, ch. iii. p. 60. And again, the Rev. Horatio Southgate; "his *Muhammedan dress* shielded him from much of the difficulty and danger of the way, that he must have experienced had he been *known* as a European." *Residence in Persia*, by the Rev. Justin Perkins, ch. xix. p. 317. And once more; "Mr. Milne dressed in a native costume." *The Middle Kingdom*, vol. ii. p. 364.

[1] Not quite all. Mr. Samuel Kidd, Professor of Chinese at the London University College, determined to surpass all his compeers by one bold effort, goes beyond it, and says, that the Catholic success in China "was gained by pandering to human passions and lusts"! *China*, section vii. p. 393. Does this gentleman suppose that men are no longer responsible for their

has been found to maintain that the success which has attended the presence of his fellows in China has been complete, triumphant, and marvellous. Such a writer as this is surely worth quoting. The London Missionary Society, in their Report for 1857, assure their confiding subscribers that they can reckon 363 Protestant Chinese. This devout company does not appear to have betrayed its existence in any other report, and is probably utterly unknown to any body actually residing in China. One would like extremely to make the acquaintance of these 363 gentlemen, if they are indeed to be found within the *orbis terrarum;* though, considering the acquisitive and larcenous habits of Protestant converts, it might be prudent to be fortified with the presence of a policeman. But the veracious Secretary of the London Missionary Society, who probably wrote this pleasant story on some sorrowful day when the funds at his disposal were found to be rapidly

words? or that the law which exacts "an account" of them has been abrogated in his favour? There was a Kidd, a Baptist missionary, who refused to employ the proper Chinese word for *God*, from a "fear of identifying the doctrines of the Bible with the system of Popery." *Critical Notices of Dr. Morrison's Literary Labours*, p. 34. If they are not the same individual, they must at least be close kinsmen.

diminishing, clenches his statement, as usual, with an appropriate and conclusive text. "So mightily," this jocose person exclaims, "has the Word of God grown and prevailed"! Protestants have a good deal to answer for in the profane use which they habitually make of Holy Scripture; but this is an example which was probably never surpassed.[1]

We have seen, then, in all its instructive details, the *Contrast* which the Chinese missions exhibit; and we have heard the comments, such as they are, which a certain class of Protestants make upon it. We have seen on which side God is found, with whom His Spirit rests, upon whom His gifts are poured out. There is little need to wait for man's judgment when God has pronounced His own. If the Divine sentence had been promulgated, as of old, "amidst thunderings and lightnings," or by the voice of an Archangel in the streets of one of our crowded cities, or in letters of fire on the wall of the firmament,—it could not more manifestly appear whose labours He

[1] The Religious Tract Society, though not always free from the same fault, frankly confess, in a work already quoted, that "little has been done" since the death of Morrison, who did nothing. And another: "Little has been done by missionaries in China except the printing of books." *Points about China and the Chinese*, ch. xxxii. p. 314.

accepts, or to whom He says, "*I know you not.*" The past, then, with all its solemn lessons, is revealed to us: but it is still possible to speculate on the future.[1] A new era has been inaugurated in this distant land.

[1] The speculation appears to turn mainly upon the success of the Chinese insurrection, which is deemed "a religious movement, essentially Protestant Christian in its origin, development, and tendency." *Calcutta Review*, vol. xxii. p. 102. Mr. Gillespie flatters himself that if the rebellion succeeds, "China will be thrown open to the efforts of Protestant missionaries." *The Land of Sinim*, ch. v. p. 237. More accurate information has probably discouraged this cheerful anticipation. "The rebellion is but feebly charged with the spiritual element," says Mr. Kesson; and though it is true, as Mr. Meadows observes, that "the leader of the rebellion applied for baptism," unfortunately he demanded in the same breath "a monthly support"! *The Chinese and their Rebellion*, ch. vii. p. 87. Mr. Oxenford assures us, that "there is no reason to suppose that the insurgents are *otherwise than orthodox Confucians*, with a superstructure of spurious Christianity." *History of the Insurrection in China*, by MM. Callery and Yvan, *Supplementary chapter*, p. 312. Of the sympathy which the Protestant missionaries have manifested towards the insurgents, in spite of their crimes and blasphemies, Mr. Wingrove Cooke says, with natural indignation: "We have men here who have gone among them in the same spirit as Samuel went to Saul (?), and who have produced scandal, even among their own body, *by urging these ruffians to go forth and kill.*" *China*, ch. xi. p. 107. The Protestant missionaries are willing to make alliance even with a bloodthirsty impostor, who calls himself "the Brother of Jesus Christ," rather than remain in their solitude.

The age of persecution, we are told, is over. As far as China Proper is concerned, its last page has been written, its last victim buried, or cast into the sea, or consumed in the flames. The same thing will perhaps soon be true of Corea, Tong-king, and the whole kingdom of Annam. And already the Protestants lift up their heads, and send messages to one another, and prepare to come forth from their hiding-places. "Persecution is no longer to be feared," cries one of them, as he throws his cap into the air, and announces, with an almost sublime candour, that this is, for such as himself, "a peculiar encouragement"![1] No doubt it is; and we shall soon see him and his companions, with jaunty and impressive air, accompanied by a smiling escort of females, and armed with an assortment of texts, walking abroad to take the air in the fertile provinces of China. Two difficulties, however, lie in the way of his triumphant progress. He has first to acquire a knowledge of the language. His mere presence, imposing as it is, will hardly suffice to convert the Chinese. He must condescend to speak to them in their own tongue; and he must speak it accurately, or, as Morrison complained, they will be "irreverent," and laugh at him. It is absurd, trivial, and annoying; but there is no

[1] *The Land of Sinim*, ch v. p. 140.

help for it. Chinese he must learn, or be content to resume his former secluded and somewhat monotonous life. And one of his own class, Mr. David Abeel, tells us, that "those missionaries who have not been toiling for years at the language, are not qualified for such an undertaking."[1]

[1] *Journal of a Residence in China*, ch. vi. p. 120. "The difficulties to be overcome in the Chinese language, except to a man with indomitable spirit and determination, are most trying." *Recollections of Service in China*, by Colonel Arthur Cunynhame, ch. xv. p. 208. "It is a great mercy," says Mr. Malcolm, with amusing candour, "that China should be shut at present. Were it otherwise, *Protestants are without persons to send;* while Popish priests abound in the East, and would instantly enter in great numbers, making the field worse for us, if possible, than now." *Travels in South-eastern Asia*, vol. ii. p. 196. Surely Protestant missionaries, who have swarmed for nearly fifty years in the Chinese seaports, might by this time have learned the language, if they are ever to learn it at all? Yet we are told that, "excepting a small vocabulary, published by Dr. Morrison in 1829, no work of any note has yet been provided for the students in the dialect of the Chinese literates." *Chinese Chrestomathy*, by E. C. Bridgman, *Introd.* It seems impossible even to find an interpreter among them; and Lord Jocelyn ventured to suggest, in 1851, that "the members of the Roman Catholic Institution at Macao would be easily induced to furnish, at all times, a certain number of interpreters for the use of Government." *Six Months in China*, ch. vi. p. 145. And this would be nothing new. "It was *from Father Ripa's foundation* that Lord Macartney obtained two interpreters for his embassy." *Residence*

But another little difficulty awaits him, and one which will be still harder to overcome. The Chinese are an acute and intelligent people, keen and even sarcastic observers, and apt to call things by their proper names. "The aristocracy of talent, and not of wealth," says Mr. Osmund Tiffany, an American writer, "bears sway in China." And so Mr. Lay tells us, that when "a clerical friend" of his went into a shop with him, and replied to a polite inquiry of the puzzled shopkeeper that he was "a priest,"—"A priest," said the Chinaman, "and yet married"![1] The

at the Court of Pekin, by Father Ripa; *preface* to English edition. "The want of interpreters was very much felt by Captain Herbert. He repeatedly applied for some one to be sent up to him in that capacity." Bernard's *Services of the Nemesis*, ch. xix. p. 194. And finally, Mr. Cooke is still asking, in 1858, "Where are the *interpreters* who were to be supplied by the Bishop's College, an institution that has I believe for some years received 250*l.* annually for this purpose? *It has never yet turned out one Chinese scholar*;" ch. xxvii. p. 359. If England and America like to support, at vast expense, hundreds of useless "missionaries," who would be just as profitable in London or New York, they are rich enough to afford the amusement; meanwhile, it is sufficiently evident that they are not likely to prove very formidable rivals to the true apostles.

[1] *The Chinese as they are*, ch. ix. p. 100. "Preachers of the Gospel in China have to deal with a teeming population of sharp, clever, intelligent, sceptical, not naturally devout or religious, but

Chinese know something of true priests, and have seen them at their work. They are also, at least the majority of them, familiar with the noblest type of Christians, have lived amongst them, or in their neighbourhood, and been edified by their supernatural virtues. They are too good judges to be tricked by a sham, and will easily detect the caricatures which clumsy impostors may try to palm upon them. More than two hundred years of persecution have produced this good result, amongst others, that the Chinese have learned to know something of the religion of St. Paul, St. Anselm, and St. Francis Xavier. "The very edicts of the emperor," says a Catholic missionary, "and those of the governors of provinces and cities, against Christians and missionaries, have made the Christian religion known to the whole of China." While another tells us, that it is a common saying of the heathen with respect to them, "they are worthy people, who do harm to no man."[1] When the Abbé Huc lately traversed the whole em-

often very learned men. We ought not, therefore, to delude ourselves so far as to suppose that the people of China will, as a matter of course, bow to a few scattered emissaries of a more florid complexion." *Who is God in China, Shin or Shang-Te?* by the Rev. S. C. Malan, p. 176.

[1] *Annales*, tome i. p. 188.

pire, the viceroy of the province of Su-tchuen, a cousin of the emperor, told him that he knew the very house in which the Catholic Bishop, Monseigneur Perocheau, was living; but, he added, "I have not disturbed him, because I have convinced myself that he is a virtuous and charitable man." And, in a memorial which the same viceroy addressed to the emperor, he tells his sovereign: "In all the provinces of China there are men who have left their own country to preach religion, and there is not one of them who does not exhort men to do well: they have no other object."[1]

It will not be easy to contend with such apostles

[1] *L'Empire Chinois*, tome i. ch. ii. pp. 51, 84; and ch. vii. p. 333. In this celebrated journey, which Sir John Davis calls "the most daring missionary enterprise on record," the Abbé Huc saw the Chinese Christians every where manifesting openly their faith, and even in many cases attacking "the idols and superstitions of the Bonzes" before assemblies of the heathen. In the province of Su-tchuen, containing 100,000 Catholics, he saw "a great crowd of Christians going in procession, with banners flying; . . . all wore their rosaries round their necks, threw themselves on their knees, and with one voice demanded our blessing." And the heathen, far from scoffing, only said to one another: "These are the Christians, asking the chiefs of their religion to cause blessings to descend from heaven;" ch. vi. p. 270. Every where they seem to have been worthy of their noble pastors.

as these, who will continue to display the same admirable virtues, and to labour with the same Divine succours. But this consideration, we may be sure, will not deter others of a different class from attempting to reap where they have not sown, nor from striving to plant tares amongst the wheat which is now ready for the harvest. "There shall be among you lying teachers," said the Prince of the Apostles, "who shall bring in *sects of perdition.*"[1] We have seen how many such sects there are already in China, and their number will increase. They will scent their prey from afar, and the air will be filled with unclean birds hastening to the feast. "Through covetousness shall they with feigned words make merchandise of" all whom they can corrupt, "speaking proud words of vanity, *promising them liberty*, whereas they themselves are the slaves of corruption." Nor will holy fear arrest these men when they reflect, if such as they can ever admit the solemn thought, that in that soil of China, moistened by the blood of saints, "they cannot even dig the foundations of their temples without disturbing the bones of our martyrs." Such a reflection will not occur to a man who does not fear to call our Lord's witnesses "baptized pagans," scoffs at His apostles as agents

[1] 2 St. Peter ii. 1.

of fraud and deceit,—or avows before heaven and earth that he prefers a Mahometan to a Catholic. Such a "missionary" as this will do his work to the end. Loaded with the gold of England and America, he will gather round him, here and there, the false and the covetous, who will affect to embrace his vague and shadowy religion as long as he buys their adhesion with solid coin. Surrounded by such disciples, and safe from the perils from which he once hid himself in trembling fear, he will now walk with head erect and confident mien, perhaps even invite others with supercilious words to imitate his tardy courage. We shall see him, loquacious and arrogant, numbering his converts with complacent air, and bidding the world take note of his success; a new Saul, clothed in the armour which David disdained to wear, and boasting before the armies of Israel that it was *he* who killed Goliath.

THE END.

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